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CHAP. XIV.

SAMAN IS HERCULES. — HIS LABOURS EXPLAINED, AND THE MYSTERIES IN VIRGIL AND HOMER AND ARISTOPHANES.— THE PHENEATÆ, THE BŒOTIANS, THE THRACIANS, THE TROJANS, THE SALAMINIANS, THE ARABIANS, ALL ARKITES. — CONTESTS FOR DIVINE HONOURS BETWEEN MERCURY THE GOD OF THE CAIRN, PAN THE GOD OF THE MOUNTAIN, AND APOLLO.— WHY THE LATTER WAS CALLED PAN AND EGGBORN. — EGYPTIAN SHRINES.

SINCE the Irish and Oriental mythology are so nearly alike in many points, that the characters of the one usually find their counterpart in the other, it is no small confirmation of the Irish Saman's diluvian origin, when, on turning to the East, we find another Saman, whose character is quite unequivocal. We are told in a Cingalese poem[1] that in the island of black marble (*i.e.* Meru, *i.e.* Ararat,) beyond the seven seas (which surrounded it) a golden palace was erected. The queen that was in the palace, named Kanandoo Bana, or the fishing-

[1] Yakkun Nattannawa, translated by J. Callaway.

baskets (*i. e.* the Ark), conceived, and ten months after brought forth a son. Seven months after the birth of the child they gave it food, and named it the great black God: he is also called black Samy, and Saman. Through the power of the Gods he obtained permission to receive offerings. He lives continually in the streams, and is thus addressed: "Thou didst spring in that day from the rock in the foul water." The same poem contains another fable, relating to him in his character of Shony; but he is here represented as a Devil, probably in allusion to some attempt to introduce the worship of fire; for both elements are equally familiar to him. On the day the Devil, called Mahasohon, *i. e.* the great Sohon, came into the world to dwell, he showed many wonders. He fell into the water; the depth of it was eighty cubits, and he swam, and came again out of the water. He entered into the body of the princess Godimbera, and made her sick. He said to Wessamoony[1], his whole body being covered with flames of fire, "I will dash you upon the great rock Mahameru." Wessamoony, whose head is covered with a pyramid of mountains, was probably the patron of the opposite rites. The Irish and Cingalese Saman, therefore, is the same as the ancient Etruscan Semon[2], or Hercules;

[1] If we may resort to an Hyberno-Celtic etymology, Wessamoony will mean the ship of the altar, or the Ark; from Ess, and Mon or Mun.

[2] Gruter has this inscription: Semoni. Sanco. Deo. Fidio sacrum; upon which subject Vossius observes: Semo, idem qui Fidius, sive Hercules. — *De Idolol.* p. 46. Putabant hunc esse Sanctum a Sabinâ linguâ, et Herculem a Græcâ. — *Varro.* The Egyptians knew him by the name of Sem, or Som, or Somnoutha. — *Jambl. Pan. Ægypt.* lib. ii. c. 3. *Vallancey, Vin. Ir. H.* p. 49.

for the exploits of that personage exhibit a similar view of the conflict between rival sects: they were the victories obtained by the worshippers of the sun over their adversaries, and the monsters subdued were Arkite priests.

Some of them no doubt were the invention of a subsequent age, when the name of Hercules had been assumed by ambitious warriors, and given to fictitious heroes. But in many the connection with Arkite mysteries may be easily discerned; and in all those cases where the literal sense is quite absurd, and in which an intelligent writer would be made to talk downright nonsense by admitting it, it is almost beyond a question that there is some latent mystery. Thus, when Apollodorus relates that he strangled a lion, the offspring of Typhon [1], it is plain that the animal was not the savage of the forest, but the mystic representative of the Ark, the vehicle of Dourga, the lion of the Zodiac. Hence his weapons were useless in this contest: for the bow and the conical club [2] had too near a relation to Arkite rites. The same author indeed makes him shoot the golden-horned stag: but this seems to be only for the purpose of introducing a locality suitable to the Arkite rites; for the animal was crossing a river in his way to the Artemisian hill. The golden horns were of course the crescent of Artemis, or Diana; but she did not quarrel with him, notwithstanding the loss of her stag, because he laid

[1] Apollod. lib. ii.

[2] The club being, as I have shown, a transcript of the Indian Mandara. Apollodorus calls it ῥόπαλον, from ῥοπή, which exponitur declivitas. — *Scapul. Lex.*

the blame on Eurystheus: in other words, when she became an object of worship on her own account, in common with the sun, she had no objection to lose her emblematic character. Much in the same way he is said to have shot the Stymphalian birds. But where? In a marsh; that is to say, a place deluged with water? and that marsh too in Arcadia. But wherefore should this be deemed a labour? or how did it deserve to be recorded as a great and glorious exploit? Why, every Indian in the woods of America can do as much. Is it not obvious, that these aquatic Arcadian animals were not literal birds? But what they really were, it is not difficult to conjecture, from some other circumstances of their name and history. Stymphalus was the name not only of a lake in Arcadia, but of the highest mountain there, and of a river which descended from it; and the magnitude of their wings was so great as to shut out the rays of the sun from that land.[1] Now some writers assert[2], that they were not shot, but frightened away by Hercules. And so with respect to the golden-horned stag, the prevailing opinion was, that it was not shot by him, but entrapped; in other words, his success was obtained by artifice. Another of his conquests was the Cretan bull, an animal eminently Arkite. Some said it was Europa's; that is, they

[1] Pausanias in Arcad.: Ut solis radios obumbrarent. — *Hoffman. Lex.*

[2] Non sagittis, sed æris sonitu Hercules Stymphalidas occidit. — *Lactant. in Stat. Thebaid.* l. iv. Monstriferumque Erymanthon et ærisonum Stymphalon. Bernartius says, not occidit, but fugavit: Ut Nonnus in Dionysiacis, Pisander Camiræus, Charon Lampsacenus, et Seleucus in miscellaneis tradiderunt.

referred it to the æra of Minos, who, it has been shown before, was in truth Noah. Others said, it was produced by Neptune, out of the sea. So too, Augeias, whose ritual abominations he is said to have cleansed away, was a son of Neptune, or of one of the Argonauts. But as he is also called the offspring of the sun, it may be suspected that each party gave their own version of the story; and the employment of a river [1] for the purpose looks like an invention of the Arkites. In pursuing the Erymanthian boar upon a mountain of Arcadia, he encounters the Centaurs, who were Thessalians, that is, Arkites; and hence the Centaur Chiron was the instructor of Achilles. The name of Centaur seems to be not very different from that of the Minotaur, and to indicate that originally they had the same form; the subsequent substitution of a horse being the mistake or corruption of a later age. They were in fact priests of the mountain [2], and the two first who fell in the conflict he slew by striking them with torches.[3] The Lernæan Hydra was another adversary, that could not be subdued without the aid of fire. Apollodorus says, that Hercules used fiery weapons; but Palæphatus tells us, that all his efforts were unsuccessful, till Iolaus applied fire to the heads which had been cut off. The operation, however, of cutting them off must have been rather difficult; for he had nothing but his club to employ for that purpose.[4]

1 Alpheus. 2 Cohen Tor.
3 Archius and Agrius. Βαλῶν δαλοῖς. — *Apollod.* lib. ii.
4 Τῷ ῥοπάλῳ κόπτων. — *Apollod.* lib. ii.

His victory too was impeded by another very ignoble adversary, a crab, which assisted the Hydra by biting his foot, and which it was necessary to dispatch first. It is the same story as that of the scorpion biting the foot of Orion; and both animals had the same claim for admission into the heavenly sphere: the expansion of their claws presented a fanciful image of the double-prowed ship. There is one circumstance, however, which inclines me to suspect, that in some part of Greece, the Arkites conspired with the worshippers of the sun against that corruption of their institutions which was denominated Ophite, from its exalting the evil principle and type of destruction into an object of worship: for Hercules threw a Barian[1] rock upon the demolished Hydra. But the weapons with which his opponents the Centaurs fought were also rocks, the implements of Druidical worship: and in his contest with Alcyoneus, the giant threw at him a rock taken out of the Red Sea, which was so large and heavy that it killed twenty-four men, and could scarcely be dragged along by twelve waggons.[2] It was clearly a Druidical sacred stone; and when Hercules is said to have easily turned it aside by merely opposing his club, the meaning must be, that he showed it to be an emblem of Mandara, or Ararat, and consequently equivalent, or rather superior, to his adversary's rock altar. The diluvian character of the latter is evident from its native locality. It was not "the readiest

[1] Βαρεῖαν ἐπέθηκε πέτραν, Apollod. lib. ii. Barian might easily be converted into Bareian.

[2] Natalis Comes. — *Mythologia*, lib. i.

weapon that his fury found; " but fetched from the Red Sea, the residence of Oannes, and on the shores of which the Bari or Ark was held in peculiar veneration. The dragon that guarded the Hesperian apples had the good fortune to be immortal; and therefore, though her watchful vigilance was lulled to sleep for a while, her influence in that region was not wholly destroyed.

To this subject I shall have occasion to revert; at present it must suffice to observe, that the trifling success which he obtained in this robbery of an orchard depended upon the condition of his acting the part of the diluvian mountain Atlas, which once sustained the microcosm of the Ark. Cerberus, it has been already shown, was the priest of the three-peaked mountain, round which the serpent of the deluge was coiled, and consequently the dragging him from his mystic cave[1] into the light of day must import some persecution of the Arkites, some exposure of their mysteries, some suspension of their sacred rites. He was dragged too, as we learn from Virgil, from the very throne of the king[2], that is, while he was in favour at the court of some prince. Any other construction will make it difficult to reconcile his position there with his office of guardian of the entrance into the regions of Dis.[3] When Æneas passed over to the island of departed spirits, (for an island it must have been, since there was no access to it without cross-

[1] Adverso recubans immanis in antro. — *Æn.* vi. 419.

[2] Ipsius a solio regis traxitque trementem. Ibid. 396.

[3] Licet ingens janitor antro
Æternum latrans exsangues terreat umbras, Ibid. 400.

ing the Stygian waters,) he bribed the warden priest to allow him to proceed.[1] For there are many circumstances which conspire to prove, that the Eleusinian mysteries, from which it is generally admitted the picture of his descent into hell was drawn, were of Arkite origin[2]; although the embellishments of poetry and the introduction of several episodes have rendered it impossible to give a consistent and satisfactory explanation of the whole. And certainly, if the object of the mysteries was, as Warburton supposes, to inculcate that the universe is not upheld fortuitously, without a governor to preside over its revolutions[3], nothing could better illustrate that fact[4] than the story of the Deluge; and therefore perhaps Sophocles makes the son of Alcmena, who had been initiated, exhort his friend to remember piety towards the gods of Troy in the midst of its destruction.[5] It has been already seen that the Druids were Arkites; and hence it was reported that Hercules conquered the Celts.[6] Now many features of the Druidical rites may be traced in the allusions of Virgil. The Sibyl priestess, whom Æneas consulted, delivered her responses from an oracular cave; the mystic branch which was to give him

1 Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam.— *Æn.* vi. 420.

2 In the same way the omensprig of the Druids may be discerned in the myrtle that dropped blood on the Thracian tumulus. — Ibid. iii. 28.

3 The Divine Legation of Moses, ii. s. 4.

4 No better means of becoming εὐσεβὴς καθὸ δεισιδαίμων. — *Sopater.*

5 Τοῦτο δ' εννοεῖσθ' ὅταν
Πορθήτε γαῖαν, εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς θεούς. — *Philoct.* 1486.

6 Nicander de Mutationibus, lib. iii.

admission into the secrets of Tartarus was the mistletoe[1]; which is evident, not only from its position in the bifurcation of an oak, but also from the description of the poet, who expressly compares it to that shrub.[2] The branch was golden; so was the mistletoe of the Druids. Taliessin calls it Pren puraur, the tree of pure gold; and Pren Uchelvar, the tree of the high summit[3]: it could not be cut with iron[4], and so the Druids used a golden hook. Nothing of iron was to cut or touch it, says Borlase.[5] The uninterred multitude consisted of those who had not undergone inhumation[6] in the Ked, or Cromlech, for the purpose of being initiated in the lesser mysteries, which were always celebrated in some small sanctuary.[7] But sometimes long training under the Druids was considered sufficient to entitle the aspirants to visit the awful banks beyond the waters, which was the object of their ambition.[8] Plato relates, that the

1 Non ante datur telluris operta subire,
Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fœtus, — *Æn.* vi. 140.

The doves were πελειαδες, or priestesses, who pointed it out.

Sedibus optatis geminâ super arbore sidunt, Ibid. 203.

Geminâ arbore must here mean the two forks between which the plant grew; otherwise it has no meaning.

2 Quale solet sylvis brumali frigore viscum
Fronde virere novâ, &c. Ibid. 205.

3 Davies's Mythology, p. 280.

4 Nec duro poteris convellere ferro. *Æn.* vi. 148.

5 Antiquities of Cornwall, lib. ii. c. 12. from Pliny. He speaks of the Selago; but both were sacred plants.

6 Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est.
Æn. vi. 325.

7 Εν οἰκήματι μικρῷ — *Dion. Chrysostom.*

8 Nec ripas datur horrendas, et rauca fluenta
Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum:
Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt. — *Æn.* vi. 327.

guardians of the fortunate isles complained that unworthy persons were admitted into those blessed abodes; for which the reason assigned is, that mortals were judged by mortals; and thenceforth it was ordained that they should be tried after sepulture, *i. e.* inhumation in the mystic cell, by persons without worldly ties[1], *i.e.* hierophants, of whom Minos[2], *i. e.* Menu, *i. e.* Noah, was the chief. Thus the Arkite theology of the Druids is connected with that of the Egyptians. For Charon, the ferryman, is undoubtedly Egyptian, and it was his business to wait with his Baris on the lake[3], that surrounded the happy abodes, till living judges had decided whether the dead were worthy to be admitted into the society of the just. The doctrine of the Metempsychosis was taught by both. Thus Taliessin says, "I have been a blue salmon," and a variety of other things, which he enumerates: "I have died; I have revived; and, conspicuous with my Ivy branch, I have been a leader; I am now Taliessin."[4] Pythagoras, the well-known patron of this doctrine, obtained it from the Egyptians,

[1] Κριτὴν γυμνὸν, τεθνεῶτα, ἔρημον πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν. — *Plat. Gorgias. Op.* i. 523.

[2] Quæsitor Minos urnam movet. — *Æn.* vi. 432.

[3] Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
Terribili squalore Charon. Ibid. 298.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ βάρεως εἰς τὴν λίμνην κατελκυσθείσης πρὶν ἢ τὴν λάρνακα τὴν τὸν νεκρὸν ἔχουσαν εἰς αὐτὴν τίθεσθαι. — *Diod. Sic.* i. 83.

The Baris must have had a mystical character; for it was used on land, as well as on the water. A painting in the catacombs of Thebes represents the lamentations of the women, and the approach of the Baris, or coffin containing the body of the deceased, drawn on a sledge by four oxen, and an attendant priest. —*Wilkinson's Thebes*, p. 145.

[4] Davies's Mythology of the Druids, p. 574.

and it is still legible in the designs drawn upon their tombs. To propagate and confirm this delusion may have been one of their motives for giving so often the head of an Ibis, or a hawk, to the figures delineated in the exterior chambers of their temples[1]; for Synesius affirms, that their object in this was to amuse the populace, who are always fond of the marvellous, and scorn that which is easy and plain; while they themselves descended into their sacred cells to deride the credulity of the people, and to study those simple truths which the vulgar would not endure. To ascertain the original nature, however, of those simple truths, I prefer the authority of a well-informed historian, who with singular accuracy writes thus: "There are also certain subterranean cells, and winding vaults, which were framed by adepts in the ancient rites; who, looking forward to a deluge, and fearing that the memory of those rites might be obliterated, laboriously excavated them in various places, and on the walls of their excavations they sculptured many sorts of birds, and beasts, and innumerable forms of animals, many of which they called Hieroglyphic letters."[2] The only inaccuracy in this

[1] Τοῖς μὲν ῥάμφεσι τῶν ἱεράκων, καὶ τῶν ἴβεων, ἃ τοὺς προτεμενίσμασιν ἐγκολάπτουσι, καταμωκῶνται τοῦ δήμου. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καταδῦντες εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς χηραμοὺς, ἅττ' ἂν ἀπεργάσωνται περιστέλλουσι· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς κωμαστήρια, τὰ κιβώτια κρύπτοντα φασὶ, ταύτας τὰς σφαίρας ἃς ὁ δῆμος ἐὰν ἴδῃ καλεπανεῖ· τὸ δὲ ῥᾶστον καταγελάσεται· δεῖται γὰρ τερατείας. — *Synesius apud Seldenum de Diis Syriis*, c. iii. p. 69.

[2] Sunt et syringes subterranei quidam et flexuosi secessus, quos, ut fertur, periti rituum vetustorum adventare diluvium præscii, metuentesque ne ceremoniarum obliteraretur memoria, penitus operosis digestos fodinis per loca diversa struxerunt, et excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpserunt, et animalium species innumeras, multas quas Hieroglyphicas literas appellârunt. — *Ammianus Marcellinus*, c. 22. sub finem.

statement is, that the constructors of the cells looked forward, instead of backward, to a deluge. But the recent researches of Young and Champollion have fully confirmed his statement, that many of the forms of animals upon Egyptian walls were actually hieroglyphic letters, while the rest were what Van Heeren calls symbolic or enigmatical pictures[1], which certainly gave encouragement to the doctrine of transmigration.

Since, therefore, Orpheus[2] is said to have changed the orgies of Isis and Osiris into those of Ceres and Dionusus, and introduced into Greece the mysteries of Eleusis, it is no wonder that Æneas saw in the vestibule of Orcus[3], which, perhaps, is only a corruption of the Ark, the monstrous forms of various beasts.[4] The great peculiarity of the Pythagorean philosophy, says Plutarch, is its symbolical method, as in the mysteries; a species of instruction partly phonetic, and partly mute, immediately intelligible to the initiated, but quite dark and unmeaning to others.[5] The consideration of these facts tends greatly to elucidate a passage in Ezekiel. The prophet says: — "When I looked, behold a hole in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the

[1] Vol. ii. p. 32.

[2] Plutarch. x. 891. He calls Orpheus ἀνὴρ Ὀδρύσης: perhaps it should be ὁ Δρύσος, the Druid.

[3] Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci. (*Æn.* vi. 273.) That the Greeks called a sepulchre Ὄρκος, is observed by Scaliger ad Varronem ex Menandro. — *See Grævius ad Hesiod.* p. 91.

[4] Variarum monstraferarum. — *Æn.* vi. 285.

[5] Plut. x. 876.

wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw: and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel pourtrayed upon the wall round about."[1] This passage will be examined more in detail upon a future occasion. At present it must suffice to observe, that since we have no reason to believe that the Jews had any acquaintance with hieroglyphics, the sculptures or drawings on their cells must have been either an ignorant imitation of the Egyptian practice, which is by no means probable, or else they must both have been derived from one common origin, only with this difference in the event, that in Egypt the priests made it subservient to their own purposes, while in Palestine it continued to be a memorial of the creatures contained in the Ark, perverted more or less to the uses of idolatry; hence their understandings being closed against the truth, and their attention fixed upon the creatures, instead of the Creator, they were charged with saying in the chambers of their imagery, — "The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the earth." Very different, however, was the original design and tendency of the Arkite institutions, which, by reminding men of the deluge, reminded them at the same time, that, "doubtless there is a God, who judgeth the earth." Hence Virgil describes Theseus sitting, like Ceres[2], on his Cromlech, or stone of initiation, in the character of Hierophant, testifying with a

[1] Ezek. viii. 7 to 10.

[2] Near the temple of Ceres, there was a πετρωμα, called λιθος δυσω, on which she sat.

loud voice among the shades, in the name of him whom he represented, and whose part he acted, and exhorting all to learn righteousness, and not to despise the gods[1]; an admonition, as before remarked, admirably suited to the representative of that Patriarch, who was a preacher of righteousness. But it may be objected, that Theseus is called unhappy, and, that the admonition is attributed by some to another person, called Phlegyas. For his unhappiness a sufficient reason has been already assigned; and it has been shown to be by no means inconsistent with the Patriarch's state of mind at the period presupposed. He must have been unhappy, when he observed how all his warnings were thrown away, and his testimony despised. Accordingly, the South Sea islanders have a tradition concerning a great deity, called Noa; a terrible giant, clothed in a mourning robe, with an instrument of destruction in his right hand: but he was compassionate to the vanquished in war, and was in fact the god of refuge to all who fled for safety from their enemies to the mountains.[2] In this tradition, which is too plain to be mistaken, the mourning robe corresponds to the infelicity of Theseus. The notion of calamity, indeed, seems to have been inseparable from all the commemorations of that catastrophe; and the howlings of the dogs in Tartarus[3] may be com-

[1] See, however, page 370. upon this subject.
Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere Divos. — *Æn.* vi. 620.

[2] Tyerman and Bennett's Journal of Voyages in the South Sea, i. 315.

[3] Visæque canes ululare per umbram. *Æn.* vi. 257.

pared with the mournings for Osiris, and Adonis, and Dourga. In the next place, the latter part of the objection takes it for granted that Theseus, the notorious invader of the realms of darkness, is dismissed with a single line, and no notice taken of him but his posture, while Phlegyas, an obscure king, whose offence is nowhere mentioned, nor yet his punishment, fills a much more conspicuous post, and has the office of a preacher assigned to him.[1] Besides, if the omnes admonet be taken alone, it is a baldness of expression unworthy of the poet: but let it be understood that the Phlegyæ were a Thessalian, or, as some say, an insular people, destroyed for their impiety by the god of Ocean, who sent a deluge to punish them[2], and then the propriety of the admonition which they receive from the Hierophant becomes immediately obvious; and so far Theseus is merely a symbolic personage.

But we must next take into consideration his historical character, to see why the name was selected. It appears, then, that in the beginning of his life he was an enemy of the Arkites; for he destroyed the Minotaur and the Centaurs, and a terrible Taurus in Attica, who were all priests or partisans of the Arkites; and he conquered Thebes[3], the metropolis of their rites; but, like the Israelites in Canaan, he was converted to the faith of

[1] Sedet, æternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras. — *Æn.* vi. 617.

[2] Euphorion apud Servium, and Ascensius in locum.

[3] Thebas, says Canter, vocarunt Græci quidam beatorum insulas ut habet Epigramma apud Herodotum: Αἳ δ' εἰσὶν Μακάρων νῆσοι.

those whom he had subdued, and suffered himself to be initiated in one of their mystic cells. Hence he was fabled to have made an attack upon Proserpine (the Ark[1]), and to have been detained in confinement till he was released by Hercules. Moreover, he instituted the Isthmian games in honour of Neptune; but his subjects, who were still Sabians, did not approve of his defection, and drove him from the throne; after which he retired to an island, and ended his days on a lofty rock.[2] In the Eleusinian Mysteries, therefore, he is represented repentant, but not punished; miserable on account of his former errors, and eager to reclaim the contemners of his worship. Not so the Titanian youth, the votaries of the sun, who had degenerated from the faith of their forefathers; they were hurled down by lightning[3], and rolled over and over in the lowest depths of Tartarus. But the severest punishment was reserved for Salmoneus.[4] He had dared to introduce the worship of fire, and to invest its priests with a sacred character. The descent of Ulysses into Hades, in the Odyssey, is less full of these particulars; because Homer seems not to have been initiated himself: but the locality which he assigns to it shows, that if he was

[1] So Taliessin declares that he endured close confinement in the hall of Ceridwen, where he was subjected to penance, and modelled into the form of a perfect man. — *Davies's Mythol. of the Druids.*

[2] Loco edito delapsus — *Hoffman. Lex. Plut. de Theseo.*

[3] Titania pubes
Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur in imo. *Æn.* vi. 580.

[4] Vidi et crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,
Dum flammas Jovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi. Ibid. 585.
Divûmque sibi poscebat honorem. Ibid. 589.

not admitted into the secrets of the mysteries, he knew at least from what quarter they were derived. Ulysses sails up the Nile: for a day's sail, with a north wind, brings him to the furthest part of Oceanus[1], which is the name by which he elsewhere distinguishes that river. Moreover, he is directed to an island there, which was probably Philæ or Elephantis; for above it was the clamorous cataract which on that account was called Cocytus.[2] The still waters of the broader stream that flowed from thence on one side, were Styx; and on the other Pyrophlegethon, which doubtless derived its name (Flaming with Fire) from some temple of the fire-worshippers on the opposite shore. Lastly, when these two streams were reunited, their name was Acheron. It was a rocky island; for a rock is particularly mentioned at the junction of the streams; and the sanctuary was a cavern in the rock; for it was a place where the light of the sun never shone.[3] It was the residence of the Cimmerians, a people who lived in subterranean Argillæ, *i. e.*

[1] Circe says:

Τὴν δὲ κέ τοι πνοιὴ Βορέαο φέρησιν. κ. 507.
Τῆς δὲ πανημερίης τέταθ' ἱστία ποντοπορούσης
Ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυῤῥόου Ὠκεανοῖο. λ. 13.

The poet must not be tied to too literal a construction: he could only mean that his Oceanus was not far distant.

[2] Ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσι
Κώκυτός θ' ὃς δὴ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀποῤῥώξ
Πέτρη τε, ξύνεσίς τε δύω ποταμῶν ἐριδούπων. κ. 513.

In modern maps, Philæ is above the Cataracts, and Elephantis below them; but it has been already shown, that the latter name is only a translation of the former: originally both were Philæ, and from the same causes.

[3] Οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς
Ἠέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν. — *Od.* λ. 15.

little Arghas, or Arks, which communicated with one another by galleries; and by a custom received from their ancestors, they never quitted these sacred crypts.[1] Like the Hindoos, they venerated Sumeru, or Koh Meru[2], and hence, higher up the Nile, we have the Island of Meroe, or Meru. Miru, pronounced Meru, is the Hades of the Society Islands, and the name of him, who, with Akea, rules the place of darkness, called Po.[3]

The Sybill's cave, where Æneas was initiated, was Cimmerian too; but Festus labours in vain to account for the name from the natural features of the country in which it was situated; for, although it may be true that it was fronted by a lofty ridge which shut out the light of the sun, both when it rose and when it set, still that is not so uncommon an occurrence as to explain the proverb of Cimmerian darkness. There is scarcely any range of mountains that could not show many spots equally entitled to that celebrity; neither is it justly inferred by Bochart and others, that the Campanian Cimmerium was the place where Ulysses was initiated, as well as Æneas. Egyptian usages were much more likely to be familiar to Homer than those of Italy; and there is so little of geographical fact in the history of his voyage, that the island of Circe may be looked for with more reason in the Archipelago than on the coast of Italy. An ancient author gives the reading of Cerberians instead of

1 Ephorus apud Strabonem. — *Bochart. de Phæn. Col.* l. i. c. 33.
2 Koh being in Persia a mountain.
3 Ellis's Missionary Tour, p. 368.

Cimmerians[1], which strongly confirms what has been advanced with respect to the sacerdotal character of Cerberus; and it is remarkable that Hercules, in his conversation with Ulysses, considers the dragging him out of Hades the only one of all his exploits and labours worth mentioning, and more difficult than all the rest.[2] The children of Ham and their disciples retained nothing of the doctrines revealed to their first ancestor, but only the memory of his miraculous preservation; but Homer belonged to a different family, and therefore we find obscure traces of that revelation, which, from the very first, announced the necessity of piacular sacrifices, and an atonement by the shedding of blood. The descendants of Shem and Japheth had not wholly forgotten, although they wholly misunderstood, that great principle of revealed religion which constituted the hope of the patriarchs, and was the substance of their faith; that all things are purged by blood, and that without blood there is no remission of sins.[3] This difference is very strongly marked between the Latin and the Greek poet: in Virgil, propitiatory offerings, indeed, are made, and holocausts are burned; but the blood is collected in vessels only to be poured again upon the victim, and no virtue is ascribed to it.[4] But in Homer's sacrifice, there is a distinct acknowledgment of its efficacy: a trench is dug round the sanctuary, and filled, not with water but with blood, and then the spirits of the dead, of every age and

[1] Straton apud Didymum.
[2] Od. λ. 622.
[3] Heb. ix. 22.
[4] Æn. vi. 248.

from every country, hasten thither with eager longings to taste the benefits that accrue from the shedding of blood; and till they have tasted it, they hover about, uneasy and silent, and as it were lifeless, without the power of speech, and incapable of social intercourse.[1]

A similar acknowledgment, that blood sprinkled on the unclean sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh[2], may be observed in heathen usages. A Roman sacrifice, by which the Pontifex purified himself to make a propitiation for the people to the infernal deities, is thus described in a manuscript commentary upon Statius, published by C. Barthius.[3] A pit was dug, into which the priest descended: above him was laid a platform of perforated planks, on which a bull was slaughtered, and the blood of the victim streamed upon the person and the sacred vestments of the concealed priest: this was an annual ceremony. The Taurobolium[4] was a sacrifice of the same sort, but repeated only once in twenty years, and not by the priest alone, but by any one who wished to be in a state of ceremonial purification during the whole of that period. The adoption of this rite by Ulysses may perhaps have rendered him obnoxious

[1] Od. λ. p. 36. In both cases libations are used; and that custom was universal among the heathen, and, according to Sopater, always preceded initiation in the greater mysteries.

[2] Heb. ix. 13.

[3] Stat. Theb. lib. iv. ver. 451.

> Quis tibi taurobolus vestem mutare suasit, —
> Sub terra missus, pollutus sanguine tauri,
> Sordidus, infectus, vestes servare cruentas,
> Vivere cum speras viginti mundus in annos?
>
> *Poema antiquum apud Salmasium.*

to both the rival sects; for it is plain that he would not devote himself entirely to either, and accordingly he incurred the wrath both of Neptune and of Apollo; of the former, because he resisted the persuasions of the Syrens, and escaped from the cave of Cyclopean architecture, and from the clutches of the Dagon-like Scylla; and of the latter, because he refused to touch at the island of the sun, and took no part in the sacrifices offered to it by his crew; for when mythology speaks of herds consecrated to any imaginary divinity, we can only conclude that frequent victims were offered on his altars. The poet, indeed, represents the slaughter of these animals as an invasion of the property of Apollo, and the occasion of their punishment; but since the whole of the crew, except Ulysses himself, perished, it was no unnatural inference for an idolater, that they had offended the idol of the island, which they had just quitted; and at all events it gave a more poetical colouring to the transaction. Certainly if he had no share in the offence, he was hardly used by Apollo, who destroyed his ship, and turned him adrift on a few logs in equal danger of drowning and of starving. The truth is, that he was naturally connected with the Arkites; for the Ithacensian cave is described, like that of Philoctetes at Lemnos[1], as having two openings, which taken literally is not indeed impossible, but very uncommon and unlikely. Homer supplies a better explanation. He says, one of the two entrances was open to men, the other only to immortals;

[1] Οἶκον ἀμφίθυρον πετρίνης κοίτης. — *Sophoc. Philoc.* 160.

in other words, the cavern was sometimes used for ordinary purposes, but sometimes also for the celebration of the mysteries. Virgil's two gates have the same meaning: he sends out his hero through that which was made of ivory, and consequently in highest esteem, through which the realities of life find no passage.[1] It is reserved for the mysteries. Any other interpretation would make the poet stultify himself, and falsify all his history. But further, the Ithacensian cave was situated at the edge of a harbour formed by two promontories, which converged like a pair of horns. It was in the side of a lofty rocky mountain[2], which contained rock basins, and a Cromlech, which the imagination of the poet converts into the stone loom of the sea-nymphs, to whom the cave was sacred, though it more peculiarly belonged to the old man of the sea, Phorcun[3], whom the Latins called Portunus,

1 Sunt geminæ Somni portæ: quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus Umbris:
Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
Sed falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia Manes.
Æn. vi. 893.

2 Neritos ardua saxis. — *Virg. Æn.* iii.

3 Φόρκυνος δέ τις ἐστὶ λιμὴν, ἁλίοιο γέροντος,
Ἐν δήμῳ Ἰθάκης· δύω δὲ προβλῆτες ἐν αὐτῷ
Ἀκταὶ ἀποῤῥῶγες, λιμένος ποτιπεπτηυῖοι·
Αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη·
Ἀγχόθι δ' αὐτῆς, ἄντρον ἐπήρατον, ἠεροειδὲς,
Ἱρὸν νυμφάων, αἱ Νηϊάδες καλέονται.
Ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἔασι
Λαΐνοι· ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι.
Ἐν δ' ἱστοὶ λίθεοι περιμήκεες —
Ἐν δ' ὕδατ ἀενάοντα· δύω δέ τε οἱ θύραι εἰσίν.
Αἱ μὲν πρὸς Βορέαο, καταβαταὶ ἀνθρώποισιν
Αἱ δ' αὖ πρὸς Νότου, εἰσὶ θεώτεραι· οὐδέ τι κείνῃ
Ἄνδρες ἐσέρχονται, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὁδός ἐστιν.
Od. ν. 96.

and Palæmon. It very much resembles the sanctuary at Sais, described by Herodotus, the sanctuary of him, whose name the historian did not consider himself at liberty to mention; in which there were large obelisks, and a pond with a stone enclosure, and where they representend at night what happened to the forementioned deity, which the Egyptians call the mysteries.[1] In this case the mountain Neritus was the obelisk, and the harbour was instead of the pond, besides which there was the diluvian olive, and the Melissæ or Priestesses, so often called Peleiades, or doves. In short, it was a cave of the Arkites, provided with all their apparatus of diluvian emblems.[2] Neither was their resentment against Ulysses of a very implacable kind: for since he was drifting about ten days on a raft composed of the mast and keel of his former ship, he was quite at the mercy of Neptune, who nevertheless allowed him to land in safety at Ogygia. The meaning, however, of his miraculous preservation may be conjectured from a passage in Lycophron, who, in express terms, calls the vessel that bore him in safety through so many perils during so great a length of time, a Baris of his own

[1] Herod. lib. ii. c. 170.

[2] Porphyry, De Antro Nympharum, c. 3. asks very pertinently on this subject: "Why is the cave sacred to the Naiads, and not to the nymphs generally? and why are craters and basins mentioned, and everflowing streams? and why is the entrance to the north, when the entrance to almost all other temples is to the east? It is truly, as he says, spoken mystically. The Meru of the Hindoos was the north-pole as well as the abode of the gods. The first Noachidæ looked northwards, towards Ararat from the plains of Shinar. Naoi in Irish is a Ship; hence Naiads, Shipmen.

construction.[1] The ship too, which finally conveyed him back to his native land, was changed into a rock, which overhung the city of the Phæacians[2], who were taught thereby to honour Neptune; that is to say, the hill behind the city was either shaped like an inverted ship, as in the case of that at Langbaurgh near Rosebury in Cleveland, or it was distinguished by a ship temple, like that at Thebes and Meroe; or it was actually formed after the construction of a ship either out of the natural rock[3], or by architectural art, like that at Dundalk in Ireland, described by Mr. Wright. He calls it one of the most curious and singular pieces of antiquity which remain in any part of Europe, being a temple in the shape of a ship's hulk.[4]

Governor Pownall thinks that this was the Scandinavian ship of the gods, called Skidbladner, which

Κυβερνήσει τάλας
Αὐτουργοτέτευκτον βαρὶν. — *Lycoph. Alexandr.* 744.

Λίθον ἐγγύθι γαίης
Νηῒ θοῇ ἴκελον ἴνα θαυμάσσωσιν ἅπαντες
Ἀνθρωποι. μέγα δέ σφιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικάλυψαι. *Od. ν.* 156.
Λᾶαν ἔθηκε — χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ ἐλάσας. Ib. 163.

Procopius mentions a ship of white stone on the Phœacian shore, dedicated to Jupiter Casius, the city being called Cassiope; and Agamemnon dedicated a stoneship to Diana in Gerasta in Eubœa.— *Goth. Hist.* l. iv. c. 22.

[3] A Phalario Corcyræ promontorio ad navis effigiem scopulus eminet, in quem transfiguratam Ulyxis navem crediderunt. — *Jul. Sol. Polyhist.* c. 11. Diodorus speaks of a retired and inaccessible place, where there was a golden ναος of the Ethiopians, i. 178.; and Strabo speaks of a temple, where there was a golden νεως, p. 1178. Van Heeren, however, thinks that we should read ναυς, instead of ναος, and translate it the golden ship, i. 404. The truth is, it matters not much which is the reading; for the ship was a temple, and the temple was a ship. Varro says, that Phorcus was the son of Thesea, a sea nymph, and Neptune.

[4] Wright's Louthiana in Collect. de R. H. iii. 199.

the Nani constructed[1], and which always had a favourable wind, go where she would. Now it is remarkable, if Tzetzes is to be believed, that Nanus was the original name of Ulysses. It is the name, indeed, by which Lycophron designates him, when Cassandra prophesies that he will explore all the recesses of earth and ocean.[2] It is not without reason, therefore, that he concludes his story to Alcinous, by asking, Why should I proceed further with these myths?[3] It may be observed, that the language of Lycophron, taken by itself, would lead any one to imagine, that he speaks of a voluntary design to explore some remote recesses, although it suited his poem, as well as Homer's, to paint it as a punitive infliction. Mistaken notions of religion have always produced the same effects. The same spirit then actuated mankind, which has since sent so many on pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Mecca, to the Jordan and the Ganges, under every circumstance of difficulty and toil; and the heroes of antiquity undertook long expeditions to visit places reputed to be sacred. If they were Arkites, a sea voyage was an additional recommendation, and, accordingly, in the play of the Frogs, Hercules tells Dionusus, that it was a long voyage, by which he went to the regions of the dead[4]; in other words, to the place of initiation. It is evident, that

[1] Nani fecerunt Skidbladner et dederunt Frejero. — *Edda, by J. Goranson.*

Skidbladner cavitas cochlearis. — *J. Ihre's Dict.*

[2] Νάνος πλάναισι πάντ' ἐρευνεύσας μυχὸν Ἀλός τε καὶ γῆς. — *Lyc. Cassand.*

[3] Τί τοι τάδε μυθολογεύω. — *Od. μ.* 450.

[4] Ὁ πλοῦς πολύς — *Aristoph. Batrach.* 138.

such was the meaning of the poet; for the very next scene is a ludicrous exhibition of the mysteries. Dionusus and Xanthias his servant are in darkness and alone: they are frightened and hear a noise: at last they see the form of a beast, which takes various shapes, a cow, a mule, a woman, a dog, and then a spectre [1], whose whole countenance is on fire; in short, the whole is a phantasmagoria. That this was really a satirical exhibition of the Mysteries, may be inferred from the exclamation of Dionusus to the Hierophant: "Save me, O Priest, that I may carouse with you [2]:" and yet there is no such interlocutor present. But what is most to our present purpose, he has the lion's skin and club of Hercules; but he forbids Xanthias to call him either by that name, or by his own; as if it was a secret not to be revealed, that he, Noah, was both the one and the other: for nobody being present, it could not be fear that imposed this caution then. It was not till afterwards, that they saw and heard the Mystæ, who salute him as the star, that gives light to the midnight mysteries [3]; while, on the other hand, the Semi-chorus bids them embark, and take possession of the Preserver: then, after in-

[1] The Phantom had one leg of brass, and the other of mud, Βολίτινον. The latter may be explained by the limus niger of Cocytus in Virgil, Geo. iv. 478. and informis limus, Æn. vi. 416.; the former by Lucian's satire on the Mysteries, where he finds in a lofty island on a brass column an inscription, recording the arrival of Bacchus and Hercules. (Ver. Hist.) Ἔμπουσα, Phantasma dæmoniacum, quod Hecate infortunatis visendum offerre solebat, in omnes se transformans figuras. — *Scap. Lex.*

[2] Ἱερευ διαφύλαξον μ', ἵν' ὦ σοι ξυμπότης. — *Batrach.* 300.

[3] Νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ. Ibid. Ἀλλ' ἔμβα, χ'ὕπως αἴρῃς τὴν Σώτειραν — ἣ τὴν χώραν σώζειν φήσ' ἐς τὰς ὥρας. Ibid. 381.

voking Ceres by the title of Demeter[1], the great mother, Dionusus is invited to the sacred circle of the goddess, to explain how without labour he achieved a long journey[2]; which it would be mere trifling to interpret of an ordinary voyage, which has nothing enigmatical in it or needing explanation. It can only be predicated of the Mystagogue, who, without stirring from his cell, personates the aboriginal wanderer over an illimitable ocean. Hence it is easy to collect in what sense the sun and the light are said to be sacred only to those who are initiated. In the literal sense it is obviously quite the reverse of the fact; for nothing was more the object of popular idolatry than the sun; but the initiated understood why they were allowed to be held sacred: to them alone it was explained, that the sun was only an honourable title of the father of mankind. Wherefore, he is called in the Orphic hymns Hercules, the father of time, the universal parent.[3] They alone were taught, that no other light was sacred than that which, like a torch at night, illumined the darkness of the Ark. Wherefore in the temple near Thelpusæ, which one report consecrated to Ceres, and another

[1] Γη μητηρ.

[2] Δεῦρο συνακολούθει πρὸς τὴν θεὸν, καὶ δεῖξον ὡς ἄνευ πόνου πολλὴν ὁδὸν περαίνεις.

Χωρεῖτε νῦν ἱερὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον θεᾶς,
Μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος ἱερὸν ὅσοι μεμνήμεθα. *Batrach.* 460.

[3] Ἡρακλῆς — χρόνου πάτερ — παγγενέτωρ. — *Hymn.* 11.

So also Pausanias mentions a tetragone image of Poseidon, which was also called Helius, and Hercules, and the Preserver. Ἔτι δὲ Ἥλιος ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων, σωτὴρ δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. — *Arc.* c. xxxi. p. 665.

to Apollo[1], her-statue held in one hand a torch, and in the other an ark. So too another statue of Despoina holds the same ark upon her lap; and Ceres with a torch in one hand, points to her with the other. But who this Despoina is we are not allowed to know: it is a mystery, which the author fears to communicate to the uninitiated.[2] Yet notwithstanding his reserve, it is a secret not difficult to penetrate. He admits, that she was the daughter of Neptune, *i. e.* the ocean; that one of her names was Core, which is the Celtic Caer, a Sanctuary, although the Celts themselves have preserved the equivocation, by terming one of their Cromlechs, the Sanctuary of the Illustrious Lady[3]; and that the Arcades or Arkites called her Soteira, the Preserver. She was therefore the Ark. Some, however, held that Despoina was Ceres, the daughter of Dis, or Pluto; for the mysteries being acted in subterraneous places, the underground regions were assigned to her; and this is the reason why initiation was deemed a descent into Hades.

The Pheneatæ, a people descended from Pheneus, who was destroyed by a deluge, had a temple of Ceres like that at Eleusis, and near it there was not only a stone inclosure, within which an olive

[1] Antimachus mentions the report of the Thelpusians: Δήμητρος τόθε φασὶν Ἐριννύος εἶναι ἔδεθλον: but Pausanias immediately subjoins, Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἶκος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστι κατὰ τὴν φήμην. — Τὴν κίστην καλουμένην. — *Arcadica*, c. xxv. p. 649.

[2] Τὸ ὄνομα ἔδεισα ἐς τοὺς ἀτελέστερους γράφειν. Ibid. In another temple of Demeter, Bacchus holds a torch to the images of herself and her daughter. — *Attica*, i. 8.

[3] Caer wèn glawn, the Caer of the illustrious wen, or wench. Cerid wen, the Lady Ceres: so the inclosure in the Gyvylchi is called by Hywel. — *Davies's Celtic Mythology*, p. 301.

and an oak grew from the same root, but also a Petroma[1] or Cromlech, which was a spot peculiarly sacred: to it the people repaired to take their most solemn oaths; and it contained directions for celebrating the mysteries, which were consulted every year, and a mask which the Hierophant wore on the anniversary, when he assumed his dominion over the inhabitants of the lower world.[2] This temple, like Our Lady's Chapel at Loretto, was reported to have come there by an oracle from Delphi, *i. e.* from the Central Mount; in other words, the rites there practised came from Delphi, which, though subsequently sacred to Apollo, was originally, no doubt, Arkite. That a large portion of the Grecian people had a strong sympathy with the Egyptians upon the subject of the mysteries which they borrowed from them, is evident from their locating among themselves the sacred places and sacred rivers of Egypt.[3] Thus, the Thebes

[1] Pausanias says, the Petroma consisted of two stones fitted one upon another in a peculiar manner; if so, the back and one side of the Cromlech must have been formed by the natural rock or earth, unless they were inclined at an angle, like the roof of a house or the keel of a ship, which is not common in such monuments. — *Arcadica*, p. 631.

[2] So I understand the expression, ῥάβδοις τοὺς ἐπιχθονίους παίει, with the correction that Kuhnius suggests of ὑποχθονίους; for he rightly observes, that Ceres had nothing to do with the others. Quibuscum nihil fuit negotii Cereri.

[3] Helicon is called by Wheeler Zagara (*Journey into Greece*, p. 477.), and Sagara by Clarke, who says, that it is pronounced Sacra, or Sackra, and that by a transposition of the two first letters, it became Ascra, which Strabo describes to be on a lofty and rugged part of Helicon. — *Geog.* lib. ix. Pausanias speaks only of a single tower (*Bœot.* p. 29.), and perhaps there never was more; for in Egypt Saccara is the place where the oldest pyramids stand, and a hemispherical mound, which may be older still. Salt derives the name from the deity of Memphis, and it was also the name of a Budhist god. — *Clarke's Travels*, vols. v. and vii., and *Wilkinson's Thebes*, p. 337.

in Bœotia was a copy from Thebes in Egypt; and Acheron and Cocytus were transferred to Thesprotia; and from a lofty rock near Nonacris, a stream descended, which, like that which issued from the cataracts of the Nile, was denominated Styx. The whole of this country seems to have been eminently Arkite: for the waters of Styx mingled with the Crathis, which ran from the mountain Crathis, past a cave of Hercules, containing his statue [1]; and behind the town rose the Aroanian [2] mountains, or the mountains of the Ark, where there was another cave, the sanctuary of the daughters of the Argive king [3], whom Melampus, by introducing new rites and expiations, which they at first abhorred [4], induced to abandon those mysteries, for which they frequented it, and from which the fable grew, that they had been changed, like Io, into cows; for so before the gates of the temple of Eleusis, there was the figure of a brazen cow, and of the man [5] who slept forty years in a cave: he was evidently an Arkite priest. If the Aroanian mountains then reached as far as Aroe in Achaia, which, no doubt, they did, we have obtained some sort of explanation of a mysterious story concerning it, told by Pausanias.[6] In the division of the prey at the capture of Troy, Eurypylus got possession of an ark, which, some say, was given him by Hercules: it contained a statue of Dionusus,

[1] Pausan. Attica. lib. i. p. 590.
[2] Aroanian, from Aren, the Ark: there is also a river of that name.
[3] The daughters of Prœtus.
[4] Θυσίαις ἀποῤῥήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς —*Arcadica*, c. xxiv. p. 645.
[5] Epimenides. — *Attica*, p. 35. [6] Achaica, p. 572.

wrought, as they say, by Vulcan, and given to Dardanus by Jupiter; that is, they knew nothing about it, except that it was of the most remote antiquity. As soon as Eurypylus opened it, and saw the image, he lost his senses; not, however, without some lucid intervals; for he went to Delphi to inquire how he should get quit of his malady. The answer was, that whenever he should find men offering a foreign sacrifice, there he should deposit his ark, and live. The wind carried him to Aroe, where a virgin was about to be sacrificed at the altar of Diana. The virgin corresponds to the Dourga of the Hindoos; and the sacrifice might be a figure, or else, like Japhet's daughter, a consecration to Diana, by immuring in a sanctuary the person offered; for so, in the Acropolis at Athens, two virgins were sent every year to inhabit a temple near a natural cave, into which they conveyed certain mysterious baskets at the anniversary festival.[1] At all events, it was an Arkite ceremony, not practised by the Greeks in general, and therefore foreign; and the madness of Eurypylus was like that of Orestes — remorse of conscience for aiding the enemies of his sect; for Troy, as we have seen, was originally a colony of Arkites: its citadel was Pergama; and the Pergameni, with whom, it may be supposed, they were connected, called themselves Arkites[2], and declared their land was formerly sacred to the Samothracian Cabiri[3], who first instituted the mysteries, and

1 Pausaniæ Attica, p. 64. 2 Arcades.

3 Καβείρων ἱερὰν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον. — *Pausan. Attic.* p. 12.

were esteemed preservers of those who wandered over the ocean. One of them too, *i. e.* one of their priests, did great injury to the memory of the others, by taking upon him the form of a serpent, that is, by establishing the Ophite worship, in compliance with the advice of Ceres, who yoked dragons to her chariot.[1]

Euripides therefore only spoke an opinion still current in his time, when he styles Pergamos a sacred place, and introduces Neptune sorrowing over its fall, and vowing vengeance against those who had desolated her temples, and her tombs, and the sacred institutions of the dead.[2] So too of Rhesus, who though a Thracian assisted the people of Pergamus, perhaps on account of the similarity of their creed and their religious sympathies. The Muse[3], *i. e.* the Mystagogue, declares that, instead of dying, as might be supposed of a man who was run through by the sword of Diomed, he should live in caves, and be something more than man, a prophet of Bacchus, who inhabited the Pangæan rock, a high mountain in Thrace, venerated as a

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Buxtorf says, that in the Talmud the Persian priests are often called Chabirim:

Κουρῆτες, Κορύβαντες, ἀνάκτορες εὐδύνατοί τε, (*i. e.* Cabiri.)
Ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ ἄνακτες —
τελετὴν πρῶτοι μερόπεσσιν ἔθεσθε·

and

Κινδύνους ἀπερύκατε ποντοπλανήτων.

Orphic. Hym. 37.

1 Ibid. Hym. 38, 39.

2 Ναούς τε τύμβους θ', ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων
Ἐρημίᾳ δοὺς, αὐτὸς ὤλεθ' ὕστερον. *Troad.* 96. and 1072.

3 Eusebius derives Μουσα from μυεω, the root of μυστης, and μεμυημενος.

god by all who were well informed.[1] He was first cousin to Orpheus, the great patron of the Mysteries.[2] The Chorus in Iphigenia, after describing the Salaminian auxiliaries in the Grecian fleet, holds out a threat, that if any one should venture to incline that people in favour of the Barbarian Baris, he never should return in safety.[3] Those Barbarians were the Phrygians; for one of the Orphic Hymns[4] is addressed to a deity, whose name is Dionusus and Iacchus, the offspring of Isis, sometimes present in Eleusis, and sometimes in the Phrygian mysteries. Thus the Egyptian Bari is connected with the Baris of Troy. There was some reason for jealousy with respect to the fidelity of those islanders: some defection, or at least dissatisfaction with their allies might well be suspected in that quarter, if the evidence of Sophocles is to be admitted. His Chorus of Salaminians invoke Pan, the wanderer of the ocean, to come from the rocky summit of snow-beaten Cyllene. They hail him as the king of gods, and desire him to instruct them in his own Dionysiac and Corybantic rites; and further they suggest, that Ajax, who complains

1 Κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆσδε ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
'Ανθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος
Βάκχου προφήτης, ὅστε Παγγαίου πέτραν
Ὤικησε σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός. —*Eurip. Rhesus*, 976.

2 Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀποβρήτων φάνας
Εἶδειξεν 'Ορφεὺς, αὐτανέψιος νέκρου
Τοῦδε. Ibid. 946.

3 ναυβάταν
Εἰδόμαν λεὼν
Ὤι τις εἰ προσαρμόσει
Βαρβάρους βάριδας
Νόστον οὐκ ἀποίσεται.— *Iphig. in Aul.* 294.

4 Orph. Hym. 41.

that he is hated by the whole Grecian host, had given some offence to the deity of the sea.[1] Pan being Arcadian we are not surprised to hear of him on Cyllene, the highest mountain in that country. But he cannot be the vulgar Pan of mythology; for he is a wanderer on the ocean, and the temple on the top of Cyllene was dedicated to Mercury.[2] Thus both Pan and Mercury lay claim to the summit of the same mountain; and if any explanation of those claims can be offered, which will reconcile their conflicting rights, there will be a strong presumption in favour of its correctness. Now with respect to the latter, Martinius may give us some assistance. There is a passage in the book of Proverbs, which our Version renders thus: "As he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool."[3] Now there is nothing foolish or contemptible in a sling: at that time, indeed, it was a very efficient instrument of warfare, as David had shown; and the comparison, therefore, is not very apt. The Vulgate accordingly renders it differently, and makes the comparison between him, who gives honour to a fool, and him who throws a stone upon a heap of Mercury, in order to honour him. Who then was this personage? The

1 Ἦ χαλκωθώραξ ἤ τιν' Ἐνυάλιος
"Ομφαν ἔχων
Ξυνοῦ δορὸς, ἐννυχίοις μαχαναῖς
Ἐτίσετο λώβαν. — *Ajax, Flagell.* 197. and 704.

The Scholiast observes that Enyalius here is clearly distinguished from Mars, and is some other deity. Vallancey says, that Nieu in Chinese is a Bull, and that Ani, or Oni, is in Hebrew a Ship, vol. iii. Intr. cxvii.; as far as the Greek is concerned, it seems to be Ενυω Αλος, the Power of the Sea.

2 Pausan. Arcad. p. 633.

3 Proverbs, xxvi. 8.

authorities adduced by Martinius prove that Mercury in these cases was a heap of stones upon the summit of a hill[1]; in other words, a cairn. Vincentius Belovacensis mentions two Indian nations who had an ancient custom of making circuits round the images of their idols with great howlings, and throwing of stones upon a heap raised to their honour; and this they did at two seasons of the year, — at the commencement both of spring and autumn[2], which are precisely the periods from which different nations dated the commencement of the flood. Mahomet, unwilling to offend his countrymen by abolishing popular usages, that did not interfere with his own views, retained this custom in the solemnities at Mecca. On the 9th of Dhu' Chajja they rush tumultuously to Mount Arafat[3], the resemblance of which to the diluvian mount is so close that it cannot be mistaken. But further there are two eminences[4] corresponding to

[1] Mercurius lapidum congeries in cacumine collium. — *Isidorus in Glossis.*

Acervi lapidum Græcis dicuntur Ἑρμακες. Mercurio enim, a prætereuntibus erigebantur. — *Scaliger de Emend. Temp.* lib. v.

[2] Duarum Indiæ gentium, quæ vocantur Zechiam et Albarachuma, antiqua consuetudo fuit, rudos et decalvatos magnisque ululatibus personantes simulacra dæmonum circumire; angulos quoque osculari, et projicere lapides in acervum, qui quasi pro honore diis extruebatur. Faciebant autem hoc bis anno; sole scilicet existente in primo gradu arietis, et rursum, cum esset in primo gradu Libræ, hoc est, initio veris et autumni. — *Martin, Lexic. Philolog.*

[3] On Arafat, the Mount of Knowledge, the Afghans say that Adam first met Eve after the fall, which is not an uncommon confusion between the first and second peopling of the earth. — *Hist. of Afghans by Neamet Ullah,* p. 5.

[4] The names of these monticles are Safâ and Merwâ; the former being apparently connected with Siva, the Hindoo diluvian deity, and the latter with Meru.

the two peaks of that mountain, between which they run seven times, and throw seven stones in the valley of Mina, *i. e.* of the fish, at three pillars.[1] We may observe in passing, that the sacredness of the number seven among other nations, as well as the Jews, is a strong argument, that the seventh day was kept holy by the Noachidæ[2]; and this is the best explanation that can be given of the seven altars, and seven victims offered on each altar by Balaam the Seer, on the high places of Baal[3]; that is, on the highest points of the Abarim, or Mountains of the Baris. However, throwing stones together in a heap in honour of an imaginary deity, whom some called Mercurius, and others Merkolis, being a well known practice of the Gentiles, it became a proverb of scorn among the Hebrews[4]: and the heaps themselves were considered the sanctuaries of Mercury; for though covered irregularly with loose stones, there was often a cavity or cell within. Thus, for instance, in Wales we hear of a circular vault formed of vast rude stones, and placed under the centre of a great Carnedd, or heap of stones[5]; and on the top of Penmaen Mawr is an oval inclosure, and carn, called Bre y Dinas (the

[1] Sale's Koran, Preliminary Discourse, p. 151.

[2] See Faber on the Three Dispensations.

[3] Numbers, xxiii. 14.

[4] Proverbium quo usi sunt Hebræi. Projicit lapidem in Mercolis. Nam Mercolis est Mercurius, aut potius acervus lapidum Mercurio sacer. Maimonides says, that the worship of Mercolis consisted in throwing stones on him, לו, or before him. Vossius says, he uses the word Mercolis (מרקוליס) infamiæ loco. — *De Idololatria*, c. 2. Also Selden, *de Diis Syriis Syntagmata*, sect. ii. c. xxxv. p. 353.

[5] Letter from Sir N. Bailly. — *Vallancey's Collect.* iv. 211.

Bari of Deonaush or Dionusus), made of loose unhewn stones without cement, and containing cells in the interior space.[1]

So, too, in all the Scilly islands, barrows have been found surrounded with an edging of stones, which form the exterior circle, and in the middle having a cavity walled on each side, and covered with large flat stones, and over all is a tumulus of small stones and earth. In two of these which were opened neither bone nor urn was found. They were sanctuaries, and not sepulchres, except mystically.[2] So also in Asia Minor, a recent traveller searching for the oracular cave of Claros was directed to a grotto, which, however, he did not find, the entrance to which was described as very small, and almost covered with evergreen shrubs, so that there must have been a cairn above it. He did however find on the very summit of the hill an excavation in the rock, and traces of steps down to it, and remnants of pillar stones.[3] Of the same nature was the sanctuary dedicated to Oga, the Ogygian or diluvian deity, by Lacedæmon. M. Fourmont was informed by the peasants of that town, that about 500 yards off a copse covered a kind of grotto, or sepulchre, of a rough and clumsy construction, not worthy his attention: on cutting away the bushes he found a structure of rough

[1] Archæol. iii. 352.

[2] Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 207. One of these caves was 22 ft. long, and 4 ft. 8 in. wide; but only 1 ft. 8 in. at the entrance, and 4 ft. 10 in. high; the other, 14 ft. long, 2 ft. high, and from 2 to 4 ft. wide.

[3] Arundell's Excursion to the Seven Churches of Asia — *Notes*, p. 305.

stones. The cavity was 28 feet by 10; but all the sides formed by only two stones, and the roof and floor each by one; a small entrance was perforated through one of the side stones.[1] The tradition in Pausanias is, that it was dedicated to the Graces: and since Creata in Celtic is holy, learned, a priest[2], it is not unlikely; and it may serve to explain another tradition preserved by Euripides, that Ceres wandering round the world rendered the earth unfruitful, and cities perished, and sacrifices were no longer offered to the gods, till Jupiter appeased her by sending to her the Graces, and the Muses, and Venus.[3] Here Venus is the reproduction of all things after the deluge; whence she is represented Anadyomene, or rising out of the sea. The Muses were the priestesses of the Mysteries; and the Graces the priests of the Ark. Other instances of the same sort will be produced, when we come to treat of sanctuaries in rocks; but thus it appears why the cairn, and the ark or sepulchre of Osiris, were equally entitled a Soros; and as the Soros[4] of Mercury was often personified, and taken for Mercury himself, so the Soros of Apis, or the great father, was personified, and became Serapis[5]; for

[1] Over the door was this inscription ΕΓΑΙ. — *Mem. de Litter.* t. xv. p. 402.

[2] Χαριτες, and Gratiæ, may both be traced to this source. — *Vallancey's Collect.* iv. 478.

[3] Euripid. Helene, 1340.

[4] Ἱερὸν Ἑρμείῃ με παραστείχοντες ἔχευαν
Ἄνθρωποι λίθινον σωρόν. — *Epigramma, Anthol.* l. iv. 12.

The first syllable, indeed, is long in one case, and short in the other; but that is of little consequence, since no one doubts, that Persona is derived from Personans, although the second vowel is long in the first, and short in the second.

[5] The Egyptians worshipped both fire and water; and in the

the situations of his temples in Egypt were truly Arkite, as the instances already given sufficiently serve to show.

A curious insight into the sort of interest which Mercury had in these mysterious cells, may be indirectly obtained from Homer's Hymn to Hermes, which relates a contest between him and Apollo for certain privileges and honours.[1] His habitation was an Arcadian cave, on Mount Cyllene[2]; and on the evening of the day which gave him birth, he, that is to say, his priests, stole from Apollo his cattle, that is, his sacrifices; and these sacrifices were offered on the top of a lofty rock.[3] This theft, for which he was branded by the opposite party as the god of thieves, was made the subject of a formal complaint to Jupiter, that is, to a higher order of priests; but, at last, the Apollonites are compelled to enter into this compromise. Mercury might exercise auguries, and employ the divination of the Moiræ[4], who lived in the recesses

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opening of the sanctuary (τοῦ ἁγίου) of Serapis, the ceremony consists in the priest pouring out water, and displaying fire, ὑμνῳδοῦ λείβοντος τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ φαίνοντος. — *Porphyr. de Abstinentia,* lib. iv. Serapis is seen surrounded by the diluvian serpent. — *Montfaucon,* xii. pl. 42.

[1] The young thief declares:

Ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς
Κἀγὼ τῆς ὁσίης ἐπιβήσομαι, ἧσπερ Ἀπόλλων. — 172.

[2] Πέτρης εἰς κευθμῶνα. — *Hymnus in Hermem,* 229. He was Ἐσπέριος, when this bold attempt was made, and his cave was κατὰ ζόφον, which connects him with the traditions of the Hesperides.

[3] Πέτρῃ ἐπ' ἠλιβάτῳ. — 404.

[4] These Moiræ are said, in the Hymns ascribed to Orpheus, to live on the heavenly lake, where the bright water breaks against the shady smooth recess of the stony cell:

Ῥήγνυται ἐν σκιερῷ λιπαρῷ μυχῷ, εὐλίθῳ ἄντρῳ. — 58.

of Parnassus, and would tell the truth if they were were fed with the food of gods, but not otherwise; but the privilege of the oracular cave, the power of predicting future events, he reserved to himself, and from that time they became very good friends. It is remarkable, that Apollo makes no complaint about his igneous honours being stolen, and that his rival is distinctly stated to have been the first who invented Pyreia or fire-towers.[1] It is a striking proof how readily the one form of superstition grew out of the other; for besides the evidence already adduced, several incidental circumstances mark his affinity to the Indian Boudha and Siva, whose connection with the deluge has been already shown.[2] His mother was the mother of Boudha—Maia. He stole the trident from Neptune[3], and wears a crescent upon his head; and, in common with Hercules and Apollo, he rests himself upon a stump, or club, which is only a modern version of the Hindoo Mandara.[4] A very similar account is given by Euripides, of Apollo's jealousy on this score in a parallel case, although the name of Mercury is not introduced.[5] The chorus in one

1 Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα πυρηί̈α, πῦρ τ' ἀνέδωκε. — 111.

2 The snakes of Mercury's Caduceus are sometimes expanded to a semicircle, as in the Engraved Stones by Capello, pl. lxxvi. p. 132., and pl. lxxiii. fig. 1.; and where the point of the staff rises high in the centre, it forms a sort of trident.

3 Montfauçon, i. 133. from Lucian, pl. 75. fig. 4.

4 Rossi, Statue, pl. 57. Glycon's Hercules leans on his club, which rests on a rock. He is in atto di posarsi sulla sua clava, col. 48. Apollo, in plate 2., rests his hand in a similar form, and is supposed to be resting after killing Pitho; but a snake is climbing up, and round the club, which has therefore a totally different meaning.

5 The whole passage is extremely obscure, and beset with difficulties, which I leave to more able critics to unravel; but the inser-

of his plays describes the success of his priests, in transferring to their own temples from the Arkite caves, the credit and the profits of uttering oracles: they first invoke him under a male and female character, as brought from the oceanic mountain-top by the mother of copious waters, when she left the celebrated place of parturition, the Parnasian peak, celebrated for the Bacchic mysteries of Dionusus, where the serpent covered with laurel, that huge wonder of the earth, surrounded the terrestrial sanctuary. The Daphne, or laurel, is probably put for the olive, which was the first vegetation that covered the retiring waters, viewed under the snaky forms of Typhon, and Narayen, and Midgard. A serpent is represented in ancient statues twined round Isis[1], who, as Maffei well observes, represented the earth quite as much as the moon,

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tion of a word or two here and there, which the sense requires, though not the metre, will help to make it a little more plain:

Εὔπαις ὁ Λατοῦς γόνος (ἔστι) ὅν ποτε (τέκε)
Δηλίας ἐν καρποφόροις
Γυάλοις κρυσοκόμαν
Φοῖβον ἐν κιθάρᾳ σοφὸν,
Ἃ τ' ἐπὶ τόξων
Εὐστοχίᾳ γάννυται.
Φέρει νιν ἀπὸ
Δειράδος ἐναλίας,
Λοχεῖα κλεινὰ λιποῦς' ἀ-
στάκτων μάτηρ ὑδάτων,
Τὰν βακχεύουσαν Διονύσῳ
Παρνάσιον κορυφὰν,
Ὄθι ποικιλόνωτος οἰνωπὸς δρά-
κων, σκιερᾷ κατάχαλκος
Εὐφύλλῳ δάφνᾳ
Γᾶς πελώριον τέρας, ἀμφ-
έπει μαντεῖον χθόνιον. —*Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1245.

[1] Monfaucon, xii. 43. Rossi, Statue, pl. 95. Cingit flexuoso volumine Draco. — *Macr.* Sat. i. 17.

though, in the theology of the gentiles, they are frequently confounded.[1] This Phœbus, therefore, is not the Phœbus of the heavens, notwithstanding his golden locks; for, in consistency with all the rest of the imagery, his dwelling is on the central mount.[2] It is next related that the earth sent Themis, or Justice, abroad, delivering divine oracles under the semblance of dreams, and that men were taught the past and the future in the dark caverns of the earth[3], and Phœbus could get no honour in this line. Whereupon he flies away to Jupiter to ask him to put a stop to these subterraneous mysteries. The god laughed at the cunning priests who wanted to secure to themselves all the profits to be made by superstition; but, however, nodded his consent, and took away from

[1] Nel simulacro d'Iside tanto si representava la terra, quanto la luna, frequentamente confusa dalla Teologia de' gentili — *Col.* 89. *Voss. de Idol.* ii. c. 24., and vii. c. i. He further says, that she is una stessa cosa colla natura madre. But why then should she be the moon, which is no otherwise the universal mother, than as it represents that out of which all living creatures issued?

[2] Μέσον Γᾶς ἔχων μέλαθρον.

[3] Per εὔνας, says Musgrave, intelligo specus quosdam tenebricosos, in quibus oraculi consultores somnum petebant.

Θέμιν δ' ἐπὶ γᾶς ἰὼν παῖδα
Ἀπενάσατο, ἀπὸ ζαθέων χρηστηρίων
Νύχια χθὼν ἐτεκνώσατο
Φάσματ' ὀνείρων.
Οἳ πολέσιν μερόπων
Τά τε πρῶτα, τά τ' ἔπειθ',
Ὅσα τ' ἔμελλε τυχεῖν,
Ὕπνου κατὰ δνοφερᾶς γᾶς εὔ-
νας ἔφραζον. γαῖα δὲ
Μαντεῖον ἀφείλετο τιμὰν
Φοίβου φθόνῳ θυγατρός· ταχύπους
Δ' ἐς Ὄλυμπον ὁρμαθεὶς ἄ-
ναξ χέρα ψεδνὸν ἔλεξ'
Ἐκ Διὸς θρόνων
Πυθίων δόμων χθονίαν ἀφελεῖν
Θεᾶς μῆνιν, νυχίους τ' ἐνοπάς,
Γέλασε δέ, ὅτι τέκος ἄφαρ ἔβα
Πολύχρυσα θέλων λατρεύματα σχεῖν
Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔσεισε κόμαν
Παῦσε νυχίους ὀνείρους
Ἀπὸ δὲ μαντοσύναν
Νυκτωπὸν ἐξεῖλε βροτῶν,
Καὶ τιμὰς πάλιν θῆκε λοξίᾳ.
Πολυάνορι δὲ
Ἐν ξενόεντι θρόνῳ θάρση βροτοῖς
Θεσφάτων ἀοιδαῖς.

mortals the dark mysteries of revelation, and confirmed Phœbus in his privileges, and authorised confidence in his oracles. Now, since the Arcadians or Arkites, who settled in Italy on the Tyber, built a temple to Pan, on the Lupercal, at the command of Themis [1], and since the site of it is said to have been a cave under a tumulus, with streams of water from the rock [2], and since he was the aider and author of fanciful terrors [3], such as were exhibited in the rites of initiation, and since he was considered the deliverer of initiated suppliants [4], it may reasonably be suspected that he was not clear of some concern in this conspiracy against Phœbus. His favourite haunts were the tops of mountains, and every snowy peak was appropriated to him.[5] Being, therefore, an acknowledged divinity of Arcadia, he had a right of property in Cyllene, which was the highest mountain of that country; he had a right to it also by inheritance, for its summit was sacred to Mercury [6]; and he bore the same relation to Mercury as Ham did to Noah—he was his son.[7] It is true that, in defending Delphi from the Gauls under Brennus, he acted the part of Apollo, the

[1] Joh. Rosinus, Antiq. Rom. l. ii. c. 20.

[2] Dionys. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. Spelunca sub tumulo, et sub petris profundi fonticuli.

[3] Φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγὸς. — *Orph. Hymn.*

[4] Σώζων μύστας ἱκετηρίδι φωνῇ. — *Hymn to Apollo as Pan.*

[5] Πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε,
Καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων, καὶ πετρήεντα κάρηνα.
Hom. Hym. ad Pana, 6.

[6] Geminus speaks of those, who went to the top of Cyllene, the highest mountain in Peloponnesus, to sacrifice τῷ καθωσιωμένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους Ἑρμῇ — *Eisagoge in Phænomena.*

[7] Hom. Hymn. in Pana.

idol of that place [1]; and, in the Orphic hymns, it is declared that Pan and Phanes are titles of the sun. But then it was the double peak of Parnassus, with its sacred cells and fountains, which he defended; and the other epithets and synonyms which the same passages supply, are a convincing evidence, that something else was intended beyond the solar orb.

This Apollo, whom mortals call Pan, was the two-horned and biformed god, the first-born parent of the blessed, as well as of ordinary mortals — the Generator, and consequently the king Priapus, issuing from an egg, and with the voice of a bull [2] — Bacchus and Grynian Titan.[3] The greatest part of this description belongs properly to Bacchus alone, or Dionusus, whose relation to the deluge and to the Hindoo Deonaush has been already explained. Let us now see how in these particulars his worship and his myths coincided with those of the sun, which have been just recited. First, then, the personages, whose images on ancient coins may be recognised by their horns, are Serapis, Ammon, and Bacchus[4]; all of them Arkite idols. In the next place in the Orphic hymns he is denominated

[1] Pausanias in Phocicis.

[2] Πρωτογόνον καλέω διφυῆ, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον,
Ὠογενῆ, κ. τ. λ.
Ταυροβόαν γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων
Λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἀγνὸν ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα κικλήσκω
Ἠδὲ Ηρίηπον ἄνακτα. — *Hymn 5.*

[3] Τιτὰν Γρύνιε — σπέρμιε — Βάκχιε καὶ διδυμεῦ —
Mortals call thee Πᾶνα θεὸν δικερώτα. — *Hymn 33. to Apollo.*

[4] Casaubon, de Satyr. Græc. Poesi. In this, however, he also resembles Pan, and, like him too, he is called the wanderer over the sea. — *Nonni Dionysiaca, c* 21.

biformed, and the first-born, and thrice born[1], in allusion to his three states of existence, before the deluge, during its continuance, and after it. Thirdly, he is also styled the All-producer; and the Phallus was a characteristic of his festivals.[2] Augustine complains bitterly of the indecency of these Priapian rites in his days[3]; but long before, the unfortunate Pentheus, fatally for himself, remonstrated at Thebes against the lewdness which was springing up in the newly instituted Helio-arkite idolatry, the idolatry of those, to whom, like the Medes and the Egyptians, both fire and water were sacred.[4] That this was its real nature, we may infer partly from the language of the Chorus in Euripides, who commend Teiresias, its protector, for honouring Bacchus without derogation to Apollo[5], and partly from the description of their ceremonies; for they struck the surface of the double-peaked rock of Delphi with lighted torches.[6] Teiresias moreover declares that it is a vulgar error to suppose, that Bacchus, when he was rescued from the punishment of presumption, a punishment attributed to fire instead of water, was inclosed in the thigh of Jupiter. The Meros, or thigh, was a Homeros, or security for good conduct, which he gave to Juno, or the Indian Hara; a portion broken off from the æther, or element that once surrounded the earth.[7] The æther, of which the poet speaks, is only the substitution of one fluid for another[8],

[1] Orph. Hymn. 29.
[2] Ibid. 1.
[3] De Civit. Dei, vii. c. 21.
[4] Clemens, Alex. Cohort. p. 56.
[5] Eurip. Bacchæ, 328.
[6] Ibid. 306.
[7] Ibid. 292.
[8] Αἰθερίπλαγκτος, is obviously the same thing as the ἁλίπλαγκος, of the Salaminian Chorus.

that he might not rouse the jealousy of the fire-worshippers. Never perhaps having heard of the Indian Meru, he starts a most absurd hypothesis to account for the myth; but Proclus gives a version of the same tradition, which quite inverts the order of events. Nevertheless it is not difficult to decypher the original facts: he reports, that when he left the thigh of Jupiter, he was received into Hippa, the Mare, who is theologically the soul of the universe, and is described with a basket on her head, and a serpent twisted round it.[1] The emblems are strictly Arkite: thus an ancient medal shows the head of Ammon with rays streaming from behind the basket of Serapis[2], and a trident with a serpent wreathed round it is in front; just as in another instance a fish occupies the place of the serpent[3], for they were symbols of the same element: and hence in Welsh Celtic the same word expresses a fiery serpent, the generative principle, and the Supreme[4]; the deity of the Ocean being perpetually associated with the destroying and the reproducing power. But Celtic tradition goes further still: it has retained even the fanciful notion of representing the Ark under the form of a horse. Thus the Triads tell us, that the black horse of the seas, the steed of Heliodorus, the most courteous,

[1] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἵππα τοῦ παντὸς οὖσα ψυχὴ, καὶ οὕτω κεκλημένη παρὰ τῷ Θεολόγῳ — λίκνον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς θεμένη καὶ δράκοντι αὐτὸ περιστρέψασα τὸ κραδιαῖον, ὑποδέχεται Διόνυσον. — Ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μηροῦ τοῦ Διὸς πρόεισιν εἰς αὐτήν. — *Proclus in Tim.* ii. 124, 125.

[2] Montfauçon, vol. i. pl. 14. from Maffei's Collection.

[3] Ibid. pl. 33. A Byzantian medal. Neptune on one side, the trident on the other.

[4] Draig. Owen's Dictionary.

carried seven persons and a half from the mount of the flat stone of Heliodorus in the North to the mount of the flat stone of Heliodorus in Mona.[1] This must be the vessel-like horse of the scholiast on Lycophron[2] carrying the Arkite mysteries from the diluvian mount with a Cromlech in the north, perhaps Iona, to another in Man or Anglesea. A literal horse it plainly cannot be, and in another poem large ships are called Wooden Steeds.[3] We may conclude, that the eighth person was only half initiated, and consequently only half prepared, to enact the part of one of the patriarchal family.

But to show the true import of Hippa's insignia, and their real relation to Bacchus, evidence can be produced from Italy, as well as from Egypt. In an Etruscan bas-relief, which Gori supposes to represent the mysteries of Bacchus, the shrine contains what Mongez calls an enormous pineapple.[4] It is odd, therefore, that he should profess to adopt the learned and judicious explanation of it given by Gori, which is this: a basket, or ark, formed of twigs, bears on its summit a globe; and about this basket, which is round and entirely closed, a serpent rolls its folds.[5] He then proceeds to remark, that "the Etruscan basket is very like the Egyptian: for the Tyrrhenes having had long intercourse with

[1] Davies's Celtic Mythology. So too Taliessin says, in the account of his initiation, that the hen with a divided crest, who caught him in her fangs, was as large as a proud mare, and swelling out like a ship upon the waters.

[2] Ἵππος σκαφίος καὶ σκυφίος.

[3] The praise of Llud. — *Davies*, p. 569.

[4] Enorme pomme de pin. — *Galerie de Florence*, tom. iv.

[5] Cista viminibus contexta cujus fastigio seu tholo imminet globus — cistæ rotundæ atque omnino clausæ sinuosus serpens advolvitur.

the Laconians, principally honoured and employed the sacred rites, which had most celebrity among them; that is, the Samothracian or Cabirian, whence, no doubt, it came to pass, that they learned the religious customs of the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and especially the worship of Bacchus." [1] This is a valuable testimony—the more valuable, because wholly independent of any hypothesis, in favour of a common origin of the religious usages in Samothrace, Egypt, and Italy. Upon the whole, it is not an unwarrantable conjecture, that the Phallagogia was nearly connected with this idle story of Jupiter's Meros, which is only the Greek version of the Eastern Meru misunderstood by succeeding ages. Fourthly, it may be more difficult to adduce classical authority to prove that Bacchus was Oo-genes, or Eggborn. But at least the term is not less inappropriate to the son of Latona, than to the son of Semele. A little inquiry, however, may show what was meant in either case; for both of them obtained their divinity by transmigration from a higher source. We have the authority of Stephanus for saying, that Ogenes was an ancient deity; and, no doubt, it is the original form of Oceanus; perhaps, too, the same person as the Phœnician Oannes. But it is also possible, that there may be an allusion to a mystic egg; for it was said by the ancient Egyptians [2], that Phtha, *i. e.* Budha, *i. e.* Phut, proceeded from an egg, which issued from the mouth of the fountain of

[1] Museum Etruscum, tab. clxx. p. 331.
[2] Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. iii. c. 11.

life; and in the Circus at Rome, columns were erected, bearing on their tops eggs and dolphins [1], round which, as a sort of sacred place, astrologers and augurs gave their oracular answers to the fools who consulted them. The serpent's egg (ovum anguinum) was the great charm by which the Druids boasted of controlling the current of destiny. It was either spherical, or in the figure of a lentil.[2] It was to be caught, as if from heaven, and at a particular age of the moon, that is to say, when she was a crescent. Maurice observes, with respect to that greatest of Druidical temples, Stonehenge, that, although its form is circular, the adytum, or Sanctum Sanctorum, is of an oval form, representing the mundane egg, after the manner in which all those adyta, where the sacred fire perpetually blazed, were constantly fabricated.[3] That such, however, was not its original destination, may be inferred from one of the songs of Aneurin, who calls it the established inclosure of the bard of the harmonious Budd; in a note upon which passage Davies observes [4], that Budd is Victory, a title of Kêd, or Ceres. Now it is known on very respectable authority, says Sir W. Hamilton, that, notwith-

[1] Falæ sunt turres rotundæ quarum fastigium ovi refert imaginem. — *Hoffman in Ova.*

Consulit ante Phalas Delphinorumque columnas. *Juv. Sat.* vi. 589.

Pal, in Celtic, according to Bullet, signifies Pierre, Roc; and hence our Pole, and Pale; the Latin Palus; the old Saxon Pal; the Teutonic Phal; the German Pfal; the Flemish Paal; the Swedish Pala; the Spanish and Italian Palo.

[2] Toland gives the British name for it Glain Neidr. Camden, Gleineu Nadrooth. — See *Pliny's Nat. Hist.* l. xxix. c. 3. Glyn, in Cornish Celtic, is a Lord. — *Borlase.*

[3] Ind. Antiq. v. 5. c. 6. 128. [4] Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 364.

standing the differences in the feasts of Bacchus and Ceres, the mysteries and initiation were nearly the same[1]: Sophocles, for instance, intimates as much in his Antigone[2]; and it is said, that their orgies were the same as those of Isis and Osiris, brought out of Egypt by Orpheus.[3] If, then, Demeter, *i. e.* Ceres and Magna Mater were in truth the same, the egg had a very extensive consecration: for in the rites of the latter, it was peculiarly sacred.[4] But we must travel to the remotest east, if we would see the nearest approach to truth in the real interpretation of the mystic egg. The Japanese represent it floating between the horns of a bull. Faber attaches some significance to the butting attitude of the animal; but that may have been only chosen by the artist, to show his taste and skill: the other part of the design is a frequent emblem of the Arkite microcosm, either oval, or spherical, or conical, resting between the

[1] Engravings from Ancient Vases, i. 122.

[2] Μέδεις δὲ παγκοίνου Ἐλευσινίας Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις Βακχεῖ Βακχᾶν μητρόπολιν Θήβαν ναίων. —*Antigone*, 1135.

[3] Theodoretus, Græcanic. Affect. lib. i.

[4] Fuit ovum in Magnæ Matris sacris præcipuo cultu. —*Hoffman.* And, on the other hand, we know from Plutarch, that it was so in the rites of Bacchus; and the reason which he assigns for it, has a great deal of unintentional truth — because it was an imitation of that which produced every thing, and comprised every thing in itself. Οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ὡς μίμημα τοῦ τὰ πάντα γεννῶντος καὶ περιέχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, συγκαθωσίωται. — *Symposiotica Problemata*, lib. ii. c. 3. The custom of giving eggs at Easter, says the Count de Gebelin, is to be traced up to the theology and philosophy of the Egyptians, Persians, Gauls, Greeks, Romans, &c., among whom an egg was the emblem of the universe.— *Hist. of the Kalendar*, iv. 251. Hutchinson, with more truth, remarks that it was held by the Egyptians to be a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the deluge. — *Hist. of North.* ii. 10. Hence it became the emblem of the Resurrection — *Brand's Popular Antiq.* p. 147.

horns of the double-peaked mountain. Thus, for instance, Ceres is represented bearing on her head a globe in a boat-shaped vessel, which Montfauçon calls a Lotus flower.[1] If it were so, the meaning would be still the same: but it much resembles the Egyptian globiferous Baris, several specimens of which are furnished by the same indefatigable antiquary. In one of his plates we find Osiris bearing a globe in a Baris on his head .[2] Another exhibits three Baris; one of which carries only a disk, and is drawn by three dogs, that is, priests in disguise: the second bears a globe, in which there is a four-headed dog; that is, the first four priests of mankind. The third has a circular shrine, with a pointed summit, consequently approaching to the oval form , and containing the dog-headed Anubis: the globe and disk might pass for the sun; but this is evidently only a shrine. In another instance, Osiris is seen sitting, and behind him, two attendants, with Baris, each containing one of these microcosms on their heads, or .[3] Montfauçon calls them Lotus flowers, which they do not at all

[1] Vol. i. pl. 45. p. 94.

[2] Vol. iv. pl. 118. and pl. 142. The figures are in alt-relief on a temple near Esne or Syene.

[3] Vol. xii. pl. 51. Drawn by Paul Lucas from the ruins of a temple in the Delta, tom. ii. p. 12. The same name has been given by Vaillant and Fröhlich, to an impression borne by several coins of Antiochus Sidetes, which has this form, : *Coins of the Seleucidæ*, pl. 15. But his maritime propensities are strongly shown by three other coins, which have the rostrum of a ship on one side, and a trident on the other, rising out of a double Baris formed by two fishes: thus . The plant in question bears some resemblance to the head-dress of a Tartarian idol, which, behind a pair of nearly upright horns, has a globe with an apex, thus : another is a Dagon, holding a cone . — *Archæol.* ii. 235.

resemble; and in another part of the same design, Isis appears seated with the same emblem on her head, and the usual Lotus flower on the top of a long stick ⚲. He is obliged, therefore, to turn this into a goblet; but afterwards a bronze figure of the same emblem with Osiris, or at least a figure, standing in it, and half hidden [1], compels him to acknowledge, that it is the flower which is commonly called the Lotus; the appearance of which differs much on different monuments. Osiris himself, as well as a hawk-headed personage, with a crux ansata in his hand, wears something on his head of the same nature as Isis wears; but the globe is dilated into a cone ⧖. To the dog-headed people, he assigns a much lower office than I do: for of two of them, who stand at the mouth of a cave, before which a goose is sacrificed, he remarks, that they may be taken for two Anubis's, acting in the capacity of porters, since it is equally the office of dogs and porters to guard entrances.[2] It is remarkable, that in the planisphere of Tentyris, the ram's head of Ammon rises out of a Bari; and on his head, besides his own crooked horns, he has another pair rising from the centre, and curved upwards at the extremities, and containing between them a globe [3]; so that it much resembles another device in the temple, where seven pairs of Baris are represented one under another, each containing

[1] Archæol. ii. 188.

[2] Supplementary plate to p. 51. On les prendroit volontiers pour deux Anubis à tête de chien, qui semblent faire le fonction de Suisses. Canum enim, he adds in Latin, perinde atque janitorum officium est portas custodire, p. 172.

[3] Voyages en Egypte, par Denon, pl. 129. and 130.

a ball, or disk. "Can they be the lunar months?" is the inquiry of Denon. "But why fourteen?" The question will be more easily answered after surveying another series of pictures in the same temple.[1] Between two large luniform Baris, which are shown to be such by the rudder at the side, one of them holding a disk or circular shrine, which contains the prow of a ship with six figures seated on it, and seven below it, and the divinity under the form of an eye on one side.[2] Between these, another circular shrine, with the prow of a ship inclosed, rests in a half ring, which is supported by a stand on a height, to which fourteen figures ascend by stairs, consisting of as many steps. It is to be observed, that half of them are males, and half females, and they bear the emblems of divinity; and on the other side stands a single Ibis-headed figure, with uplifted hands, who again appears in another Bari, with the circular shrine placed upon a platform; and in another he stands within an upright sanctuary, like the portal of a temple, and of course is the divinity of the ship.[3] Now if we consider, that it was the practice of the Egyptians to divide their deities into two sexes, and sometimes, on the contrary, to compound two sexes into one hermaphrodite, the history of these numbers may

[1] Voyages en Egypte, par Denon, pl. 131.

[2] The other contains three principal figures seated, two of whom hold the sceptre of Isis ☥, and the crux ansata.

[3] The place of the figure head upon the prow, is occupied by a hawk with a globe on his head, which Denon supposes to mean the sun, p. 121. and perhaps it is so; for in another instance, the sun with his rays is exhibited in the same position, the same divinity being similarly enshrined, and therefore different from the sun.

be discerned. The Patriarch stands alone, or is represented as the all-seeing eye: the rest of his family, seven in number[1], are each of them duplicates, except where the two parents of the six reproducers of the human race are viewed as combined in one form; and since the priests were the actors in this Arkite drama, the numbers would be varied, so as to suit their convenience within the limits which the principles of their religion allowed. That the Arkite commemoration was the principal point, to which they made their astronomy subservient, may be inferred from the concomitant emblems and the positions of the stars; for the ram is not the only constellation favoured with a ship: the bear has one; not the Arctic bear, but one near the equator: and the Bull has one; not he of the Zodiac, but one lying down south of the Lion, who has one too; though it is fancifully formed out of a hawk at one end, and a serpent at the other. Sagittarius, the Centaur, has his forefeet in a Bari: the balances are in fact a pair of Baris, and they sustain on their beam a globular shrine, containing a man's figure, sitting on a Lotus. Cancer, Gemini, and Aries are quite out of their places in this sphere; that is, they are out of the Zodiacal circle. In like manner, the two opposite borders of the cieling in the portico of the same temple contain, what Denon calls the two parts of the Zodiac; and yet, if he has copied all the stars assigned to the constellations, it is clear that it could not be in-

[1] Thus the Afghans have a tradition, that seven only were saved from the deluge. — *Neamet Ullah's Hist. of the Afghans*, p. 5.

tended for a scientific representation; for instance, forty-six stars are crowded about Aries, and only six on Taurus at his tail; none belonging to or near to Scorpio, and very few in the neighbourhood of Libra, on the one side, and Sagittarius on the other; or about the intervening figures, which are sometimes human, sometimes animals, sometimes deiform. Moreover it is remarkable, that underneath the row of Zodiacal figures and stars, there is a continued series of crescent-shaped barks, or Baris, nineteen on each side, and on one three more, interfering with the Zodiac: most of them contain a single figure, usually cynocephalus, or else hawk-faced; which shows it to be a procession of priests. But one has nothing but the sacred cow lying down in it. One of the boatmen, as well as a hawk-headed deity on the exterior wall of the temple[1], and the celestial Bull[2], carry an almost semicircular vehicle, which contains a globe; in the latter instance it is placed, not between the horns, which seem to have been considered in this case superfluous emblems, but on the neck. The same vehicle with the same burthen is four times represented on the portico of the temple at Philæ: in a chamber of the catacombs it bears the divinity of the Ark himself.

[1] Denon, Voyage en Egypte, vol. ii. pl. 117. 122. and 132.
[2] Mayer's Views in Egypt, p. 25.

CHAP. XV.

MEANING OF AN EGG BETWEEN THE HORNS OF A BULL.— ISIS BEING CERES, THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE LEGENDS RELATING TO HER AND BACCHUS IS SHOWN.— ACCOUNT OF THE DIONYSIA: HENCE, APOLLO CALLED BACCHUS.

In speaking of the crescent-shaped vehicle on the Egyptian monuments, I have uniformly denominated it a Bari, in conformity with the language of Champollion, and other writers on that subject; and undoubtedly, in very many cases, it is most properly so denominated, inasmuch as it represents the Ark. This is the obvious inference in all those cases where it occurs quite alone, as it does on the walls of the temple of Hermonthis [1], and in a MS. on silk, found in unrolling a mummy by Denon [2], or where it contains figures of priests or gods; but where the emblem is more complicated, where it contains a shrine, or sanctuary, or microcosm, like the egg between the horns of the bull, reason requires us to refer the two-horned vehicle to the double-peaked mountain which contained in its bosom the sacred Ark [3]: thus the silken manuscript above-mentioned exhibits one with several

[1] Called Armans by Montfauçon, vol. xii.

[2] Voyages en Egypte, pl. 125.

[3] Thus, too, in the Hindoo Avatar, called Vahara or the boar, a crescent rests between his tusks containing in its concavity an epitome of the earth. — *Moor's Pantheon*, p. 183.

birds and beasts, and the presiding genius in a square shrine: and thus, on the interior face of a temple of Cneph, in the Isle of Elephantis, a sacrifice of all sorts of things is offered before a crescent, elevated upon an altar, and containing a shrine, before which several figures are in the act of worship.[1] So fond were the Egyptian priests of multiplying commemorative forms of that earliest object of idolatry, that to no other cause is the Scarabæus indebted for its sacredness[2]; for physical truths can never be taught by physical impossibilities. Since, therefore, it is impossible for a beetle to move backwards and forwards at the same time, there can be no allusion to its natural history when it clasps two balls — one before, and one behind, as at Tintyra[3], or when the same ball floats within the ark of the crescent without touching its concave surface, as at Hermonthis: the truth is, that the antenna of this insect offered the same emblematic resemblance of the peak, between which the Ark grounded, as the horns of a bull or cow; and this drew the attention of the Arkites to an additional feature of resemblance, when its hind legs, in pushing backward a pellet of dung, acted the part of the same ark-inclosing peaks. When Denon saw a figure of

[1] Denon, pl. 128. Both the horns of the Crescent end in a half circle, from which, as in the Planisphere of Tentyra, a ram's head arises; it is consequently a very complicated emblem.

[2] Ταυροειδὴς scarabæus cornua ad instar bovis habebat. De eo Orus (Apollo) δευτέρα δὲ γενεὰ, ἡ δικέρως καὶ ταυροειδὴς ἥτις καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ καθιερώθη. — *Salmasius in Jul. Solin. Polyhistor.* c. xxxii. p. 311. Scarabæus seems to have a near relationship to Carabus, in Irish Carbh, parva scapha ex vimine facta. —*Junius.*

[3] Denon, vol. ii. pl. 122. and 131.

Isis, bearing on her head a similar device, he perceived the absurdity of the usual interpretations. The ball could not be the sun; for with the sun, Isis had nothing to do: therefore he concluded it was the disk of the moon; but then, the crescent could not be the lunar crescent, for to place the full moon within a half moon would be very unmeaning and absurd; therefore he determines the crescent to be the horns of a cow[1]: hence, it appears why Io, which is another name for Isis, was, in Egypt, the moon, and, in Greece, a cow. The fable of Io was not confined to Greece or classic lands. The Celts of Wales had a similar myth, plainly relating to the same subject: the oxen of Hu, it is said, were twins from a sacred cow, which filled all the vessels in the neighbourhood with milk; but an old sorceress, who could get none from her, made her mad, and she ran wild over the mountains till she was slain by Hu, or Guy, Earl of Warwick. The scene of this transaction is laid in so many places in Wales, that it should seem there was a sacred cow whereever there was a Druidical temple. The epithet Dun given to this cow seems more properly to be referred to the place than to her colour, and to signify the same as it does in Dunstable, Dunchurch, &c.: she was the cow of the hill, and worshipped as symbolical of the Ark.[2] But further, since Isis is acknowledged to have been the Grecian Ceres, whose head is on an ancient medal

[1] Pl. 120. Explication des Planches.
[2] Roberts's Antiquities of Wales, p. 32.

surrounded by fishes, to show her connection with the sea [1], and since the mysteries of Ceres strongly resembled the mysteries of Bacchus, we might expect to find the same association of ideas in the worship of the latter. Now, a Cydonian medal of Bacchus bears upon the reverse a crescent alone [2]; but what had he to do with the moon? — Nothing whatever. The meaning of it, however, is elucidated by a piece of sculpture in the quarries of Paros, where, in the worship of Bacchus, the head of an ox is introduced, which appears to bear upon it the Egyptian Bari [3], that shape having been purposely given to the horns: here, then, is satisfactory evidence, that the resemblance which has been alleged is not fanciful or overstrained. To Moschus, indeed, it appeared so natural, that, in describing a bull, he compares his horns to the lunar crescent [4]: when, therefore, it is considered besides, that the Phœnician name for a bull signifies also a ship [5], we can perfectly understand how the Arkite Bacchus is entitled to be called a bull, and the bull-horned god [6]; and Plutarch need not have been so much puzzled by the invocation of the Eleian

[1] Montfaucon, vol. i. pl. 44. p. 86. For the same reason the bull is represented with a fish above him and another below him.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pl. 155.

[3] Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. iv. c. 6. pl. 5.

[4] Ἰσά τ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι κέρη ἀνάτελλε καρήνου
Ἀντυγος ἡμιστόμου κεραῆς ἅτε κύκλα σελήνης.

[5] Alpha ou Ilpha, dans la langue Phénisienne, signifiait également un taureau, ou un navire. — *Mythologie comparée avec l'histoire, par M. l'Abbé de Tressan*, p. 68.

[6] Ταῦρον. — *Euripid. Bacchæ*, 1159. Ταυροκέρων θεὸν. Ibid. 100. The Cimbri ascribed some sort of divinity to this animal; for they made their prisoners swear by a brazen figure of it, not to serve against them again. — *Plut. in vit. Marii.*

women, who were wont to address him thus: "O worthy bull, worthy bull! Come here, Dionusus, to your pure oceanic sanctuary; come quickly on bovine foot to the sanctuary, with the benefits which you there dispense."[1] What those benefits were, we may learn from Euripides: "Happy," says he, "is the man who, initiated in the mysteries of the gods, purifies his life, and makes his soul expatiate in the rites of Bacchus, by pious lustrations on the mountains[2];" and the same Chorus apostrophises the cell of the Curetes, where the three-peaked Corybantes invented the skin-covered circle in their caves.[3] The three-peaked head-dress of these priests of the Great Mother is explained by an engraving of Isis, in Montfauçon, where she wears this ornament on her head, Ψ; and another figure has the flower of the Persea tree, as Montfauçon calls it[4] — being a bud in the

[1] Ἐλθεῖν ἥρω Διόνυσε ἅλιον ἐς ναὸν ἁγνὸν, σὺν χαρίτεσσιν ἐς ναὸν τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων· εἶτα δὶς ἐπάδουσιν, Ἄξιε ταῦρε. — *Plutarch. Quæst. Græcæ*, c. 36. *Op.* vol. iii. The βοέῳ ποδὶ may possibly be an allusion to the sacred foot of Bod, or Fo. All the names of the Cabiri began with Ἄξιε.

[2] Ὦ μάκαρ ὅστις εὐδαίμων τελετὰς θεῶν
Εἰδὼς βιοτὰν ἁγιστεύει
Καὶ θιασεύεται ψυχὰν
Ἐν ὄρεσι βάκχευων
Ὁσίοισιν καθαρμοῖς. *Bacchæ*, 73.

Ὦ θαλάμευμα Κουρήτων —
Ἐνθὰ τρικόρυθες ἄντροις
Βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε
Μοὶ Κορύβαντες εὗρον. Ibid. 120.

Curetes, from Curra, in Celtic, a ship; the wicker boats of the Irish were called Curragh. Curra Bunnith, Shipbuilders; hence Corybantes. — *Vallancey.* For according to Sanchoniatho they first invented a ship.

[4] Vol. ii. pl. 115.

centre of a two-leaved expanded calyx: this is the origin of the trident.

Now it can scarcely be an accidental coincidence, that we find nearly the same prayer in India addressed to the god of the trident, the god of the deluge, the destroying power, on whose head the crescent constantly appears, and whose constant attendant is the sacred bull. It runs thus: "O worthy man! O Hara, Hara! (this name of Mahadeva twice expressed is an exclamation used by people in great distress,) ascend into thy cave: hence send letters; but into thy cave go secretly."[1] And again, "See the door of yon cave; break it; open and conceal thyself therein;" and the person who is to do this is told to decline the friendship of those whose bellies are the only rule of their conduct. There is another instance closely connected with this subject, in which classic mythology receives illustration from that of India. A statue of Fortune has upon its head a crescent containing the sun, a rudder in her right hand, and two horns of plenty in her left; while from the centre of each a sharp-pointed pyramid protrudes.[2] Now what had fortune to do with pyramids, and crescents, and the cornucopiæ? The Hindoo can explain the mystery; for his Lutchmeen, or Lakshmi, whose Arkite origin has been already shown, is also entitled Sri, or Sris, which means

[1] Inscription in Sanscrit translated by *Wilford. As. Res.* vol. v. The Abbé de Tressan observes, that Osiris was called Dionysius and Pan; and that his wife was honoured among other names by that of Hera, or Juno. — *Mythologie comparée avec l'Histoire*, p. 29.

[2] Montfauçon, vol. ii. pl. 196. p. 309.

Fortune, or Prosperity[1]; and she is the daughter of Brigu, from which one of our names for a ship seems to be derived — Brig. Fortune therefore is the Arkite Ceres, and thus we obtain another link connecting the latter with Bacchus. Fortuna bears the same relation to Portunus, which, if the first letter be aspirated, would be pronounced Phortunus, as Luna does to Lunus. Now the Greek name of Portunus was Palæmon; that is, the ancient Mon, or Meen, who inhabited the depths of the sea, and was considered the saviour of ships. Since therefore Meen signified in Greek an Ox, as well as the Moon, it is no wonder that he is identified in the Orphic Hymns with Bacchus, or that his mother Leucothea was the nurse also of Bacchus[2], and is addressed as the greatest saviour of mortals at sea.[3] Her history is plainly nothing but a sacerdotal quarrel: after nursing Bacchus she fled from the wrath of Juno, or Hera, and was conveyed by the sea-nymphs to the banks of the Tiber; where she found the people Arcadians, that is, Arkites, and Bacchanals. But although she had been taking all possible care of Bacchus up to that time, these people complained of her intrusion on their mysteries, and were extremely jealous of Melicerta, who was called Portumnus by the Romans, and Palæmon by the Greeks; and therefore his other name belongs to some other language: it means the King of the Ship. They wanted to seize him; but

1 Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p. 134.

2 Σύντροφε Βάκχε χοροῖο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς.—*Orph. Hymn.* 74.

3 Κύμασι τερπομένη θνητῶν σώτειρα μεγίστη. Ibid. 73.

he was saved by the arrival of Hercules with Geryon's cows.[1] And it was determined, that thenceforth he should be the god of the sea[2]; for the Arkite form of worship was very early established in Italy, and accordingly there was a ship island in the Tyber, called by Plutarch Mesopotamia. The plan of it given by Montfauçon is copied from writers of the 16th century, whose accuracy as to the superstructures he doubts; but no one doubts, says he, that it had the form of a ship, the shape being given by large stones all round it.[3] Piranesi does doubt that the island had this form[4], but contends that it bore a ship temple. All agree, however, that a monument of some sort had that designation; and the tradition was, that it was built where the serpent of Esculapius[5] stopped; and if the serpent be taken as usual for the deluge, the occasion thus assigned is not far from the truth.[6] Hence it came to pass, that the earliest emblem impressed upon the Roman coins was the figure of

[1] Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 485. [2] Numen eris pelagi, Ibid. 543.

[3] Montfauçon, vol. iii. part 2. p. 98. pl. 18.

[4] Veduta della porzione di nave de Travertini costruita nell Isola Tiberina. Molti antiquari hanno falsamente creduto, che tutta l'isola representasse la forma di una nave. — *Piranesi's Antiquities of Rome,* tom. iv. pl. 15.

[5] The sacred valley in Epidauria, where Æsculapius had his sanctuary, was well selected by the Arkites; for it was surrounded by high mountains, the highest of which, like that of Armenia, had a double summit. — *Clarke's Travels,* vi. 404.

[6] Procopius states, Goth. Bell. iv. 22. that the galley of Æneas, 25 feet in breadth, and 120 long, was preserved entire in the Navalia, near Monte Testaceo. Gibbon observes, that all antiquity is ignorant of this relic, vii. 377.; and he is right, so far as Æneas is concerned; but a ship might be preserved and deemed sacred, as the monument of a much earlier age; though when the true cause was forgotten, Æneas was very convenient, to account for its mysterious preservation.

a ship[1]; and this continued even to the time of Macrobius; when, as we have already seen, boys playing at pitchfarthing cried out, not heads or tails, but heads or ships. But there is still another point of resemblance between the Indian Sris, and the Roman Ceres, nearly connected with the corruption of her rites introduced by the worshippers of fire. On the last day of the month among the former people, the day on which the lunar crescent wholly disappeared, torches were burned, and consecrated to light their deceased friends through the shadows of death to the mansions of Yama[2]; who, like Minos, is the judge of departed spirits[3]; and the god of the elements gave up for a while his kingdom to the Asuras under his dominion, and his metropolis is the mount Meru. In like manner in the Eleusinian rites torches were lighted, and consecrated to commemorate the passage of the daughter of Ceres into the regions of death.[4] But still these rites came originally from Bœotia, where Ceres and Proserpine are said to have founded Thebes[5]; and yet the latter is called the daughter of Ogyges[6],

[1] Ackerman's Catalogue of Roman Coins, No. 1. The first plate of the Asses has a head of Janus, and, on the reverse, a prow of a ship. The Romans kept a feast, called, in their Rustic Kalendar, Isidis Navigium, in the month of March. Præcipua navium tutela fuit dea Isis. — *Museum Florentinum*, tom. i. p. 121. On the gems Serapis is sometimes joined with her, p. 123.; sometimes he presides alone over the ship, which is engraved, as in Gemma, i. tab. 58. of the same volume.

[2] Moor's Pantheon, p. 134. and 260.

[3] Institutes of Menu, c. ix. p. 307.

[4] Sanctasque faces attollit Eleusis.— *Claudian.*

Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystæ. —*Stat. Sylv.* l. 4.

[5] Eurip. Phœn. 694. Bryant remarks, that Thebes, Boutus, and Bœotus are all names of the Ark. ii. 251.

[6] Under the name of Πραξιδίκη. — *Orph. Hymn.* xxviii. 5. *Arg.* 31.

who must therefore have reigned there before it was founded, if the statement be understood historically. They as well as Bacchus were worshipped there, not because they founded it, but because they shared in the import of the cow's horns, which influenced Cadmus in choosing that site for his new city.

On the borders of the Lake Copais, there was an Eleusis, which its advancing waters overwhelmed.[1] The more celebrated Eleusis escaped the danger of thus verifying the catastrophe of the deluge, and at the same time obtained a very emblematic situation, by being built on a hill near the sea, at the western extremity of a semicircular[2] range of mountains. Situations presenting to the eye a similar arc of a circle, whether the position happened to be vertical, or horizontal, were apt to be selected by the Arkites for their rites. Thus, for instance, above the Ilissus, an Athenian river, into which an Eridanus flows, a double range of hill with an uniform altitude (if I understand Pausanias aright) extends in the form of a crescent down to the banks of the river.[3] In order to appreciate the claim of Athens to be considered a seat of the

[1] Pausan. ix. 24. Strabo, i. 591.

[2] Chateaubriand calls it circular; but since the inclosed plain is washed by the sea on the south, the chord of the Arc, the form must be a semicircle.

[3] Ἀνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Εἴλισσον ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηνοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθαν εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν. — *Attica*, p. 46. Eilissus is probably derived from El Ess, or Isis, the Lord of the Ship. On Mount Hymettus, which is a solitary mountain, a grotto of the Nymphs, and Pan, and Apollo, has basins scooped in the rock, from which the sacred libations are made, and a well in the cave's recess: near it is the village of Bári. — *Wordsworth's Athens and Attica*, p. 192.

Arkites, it may be worth while to notice the account given by Professor Boeckh of the introduction of the Attic Dionysia. "They were introduced," he says, "by Pegasus from Eleutheræ, which was celebrated as an ancient seat of the worship of Bacchus.[1] Its hero, Eleuther (perhaps Bacchus Liber himself, though he is called the son of Apollo,) was said to have erected the first statue to the god, and to have taught the right observance of his worship.[2] This Pegasus the Eleutherian brought with him to Athens; and the ancient image of the god, which was carried every year in procession from his temple to a chapel in the Academy, had once stood in the temple at Eleutheræ.[3] It was not without opposition, that Pegasus succeeded in establishing the rites of the god at Athens; but an oracle reminded the Athenians of the earlier presence of the god in their land, in the time of Icarius.[4] The Phallagogia was a characteristic ceremony of this festival."[5] Such are the statements of those who can see nothing in ancient history but matters of fact, and political revolutions. But there are some incidental admissions in the same article, which throw a different light upon the subject, and enable us to trace that religious revolution, which first substituted image worship and Phallagogia for the primæval rites of their ancestors. 1. It is admitted, that from times so ancient as to lie beyond the investigation of the

[1] Schol. on Aristoph. Acharn. ii. 242.
[2] Hygin. Fab. p. 225. Schol. Hesiod. Theog. p. 54.
[3] Pausan. i. 29. 2. [4] Ibid. i. 2. 4.
[5] Boeckh. on the Attic Dionysia. — *Philol. Mus.* No. v. p. 301.

most learned Athenians, the worship of Bacchus existed at Icaria on Mount Icarius, so called from the person who introduced the knowledge of wine among men, and was afterwards changed into the sign Bootes, his mother into Virgo, and his dog into Canicula.[1] No one, who has weighed the preceding evidence, can doubt to what story these fables are to be referred. 2dly, both the Dionysian festivals were celebrated in the same sanctuary of Bacchus, the Lenæon, in the *Marsh.* So too at Sparta the temple of Bacchus stood in the suburb called the Marsh.[2] The reason given for such a choice, that they might have water to mix with their wine, is absurd. From that motive the neighbourhood of a pure stream might have been selected by sober men; but who would wish to drink the muddy stagnant water of a marsh? 3dly, the name of Pegasus is derived from the mountain springs, which this religion hallowed. It was the name of the winged horse, said to have been born at the fountains of the Ocean[3]; and Pliny was deluded into a belief, that such horses existed, and they were armed with horns.[4] In Greek Hippus was the name of a fish, as well as a horse[5]; but it

[1] Mœra, the dog of Icarius, may be derived from מְעָרָה, Spelunca. (*Hyginus,* lib. i. fab. 130.) Icarius may be derived from the Hebrew Cur, קוּר, manavit; in Hiphil Hikera, חִקְקָרָה, scaturire fecit; or from the Arabic Car, circulus; or from the Celtic Caer; or from the Punic אִי כוּר, I Caur, the Island of the Fish (God); for there were islands of this name in almost every sea, in the Ægean, the Persian, the Erythræan, and the North sea.

[2] Τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἐν λίμναις ἐρ' ὑγροῦ βεβηκὸς ἐτύγχανε. — *Strabo,* viii. 250.

[3] Hesiod. in Theog.

[4] Plin. lib. viii. c. 21.

[5] Athenæus, lib. vii.

was more probably in the sense of a Ship, that it was produced by Neptune at Athens, as an instance of his power. The poorer sort of merchants at Gades had small barks, which they called horses. To say that they were so called, because they had always at their prow the figure of a horse [1], is only to explain one difficulty by another. No account indeed can be given or asked for the caprices of individuals; but why should all these poor people agree to encumber their little barks with so inappropriate and inconvenient an ornament, unless they were influenced by some popular superstition? But this subject has already received other elucidation. Lastly, the god is described as a deliverer, Liber, Lysius, Eleutherius; for it is not at all probable, that this title should have been obtained from so obscure a place as Eleutheræ, a place, the very site of which was only marked by a few ruins in the time of Pausanias [2]; and therefore its whole existence as a place of any importance, except that which it derived from the person there worshipped, may be founded on mistake. Hence then I collect, that tradition had preserved the account of some one, a priest probably of the Deliverer, the Patriarch, expelled perhaps from a temple near the Pegasean springs on account of his idolatrous innovations upon the ancient rites of his ancestors, which were celebrated either on mountains, or in marshes, in commemoration of the deluge; who introduced image worship and the

[1] Hist. of Geography, Lardner's Cab. Cyc. p. 76.
[2] Pausan. i. 38. 9.

Phallus[1], the latter a corrupt representation of the mountain-peak, combined with a notion of the contemporary reproduction of mankind, and the other the image of the Patriarch. He may have had coadjutors at Delphi, or only pretended it; and a more ancient tradition of a visit from the deity himself, personated perhaps by one of his priests, and readily believed by a people, to whom the doctrine of a metempsychosis was familiar, would be likely to incline them to receive his image. At Delphi, indeed, which originally was Arkite in an eminent degree, with its two-horned hill, and oracular cave, and sacred springs, a great inroad had been made upon the ancient rites by the metaphysical reformers of a corrupted religion. The progress of the change may be easily observed by referring to those fragments of an original language, which have been retained by some tribes, whose affinity to the Arkite Greeks is demonstrated by similarity of usages, monuments, and traditions. The peaks of Parnassus were forced to transfer their sanctity to Pan, the protector of the Delphians, who was afterwards called Priapus, and to Phanes, who was afterwards called Apollo by the worshippers of fire; for in the old Germanic dialects, Pan and Phan signified a height, a Lord or God; and in the mountainous districts of Yorkshire, fires lighted on the heights are still called Banfires.[2]

[1] It is a just observation of Levesque in speaking of the Phallus, or emblem of Orus (the mountain), that the Egyptians never attached to this emblem the same ideas which the Greeks connected with the god of gardens. It raised none but pure and religious ideas. — *Etudes de l'Histoire Ancienne*, l. ii. p. 49.

[2] Banfires, Benfires, or Bonefires (hence bonfires). Dr. Willan's

We may now perceive the reason of all that confusion of terms and ideas which frequently occurs in the Greek Plays, when they allude to the rites of their religion. Even in the narrative we find Euripides jumbling together the antecedent rites with those which succeeded them; for Zuthus goes to Delphi, to the place where the Bacchian fire springs upward, to pray to the generative gods, and to moisten the double peak of Parnassus, the rocks of Dionusus, with the blood of sacrifices.[1]

But the Phœnician Chorus speaks out more plainly, which is quite in character. They address themselves to the double-headed light of fire with which the rock of Parnassus shone upon the Bacchian heights of Dionusus, and to Oina, which, being an Assyrian river, can only be introduced emblematically, and the caves of the Dragon, and the lofty peaks of the gods, and the snowy sacred mount, and the circular dance, and the central cells of Phœbus.[2] Nothing can be more truly

list of words used in that district. Bann, says Wachter, multas habet formas, et multos significatus in antiquissimis dialectis: scribitur etiam Ben, Byn, Fan, Fann, Pan, Pen, Pin, Pfin. Significat, 1. Altum et excelsum; 2. Summitatem; 3. Dominum. (*Glossar. German.*) Fan Deus Celt. — *Keysler.*

1 Ἔνθα πῦρ πηδᾷ θεοῦ
Βακχεῖον, ὡς σφαγαῖσι Διονύσου πέτρας
Δεύσειε δισσὰς. *Eurip. Ion.* 1144.
Θύσας δὲ γενέταις ἑτέοις. Ibid. 1149.

2 Ἰὼ λάμπουσα πέτρα πυρὸς
Δικόρυφον σέλας, ὑπὲρ ἄκρων
Βακχείων Διονύσου·
Οἶνα θ', ἃ καθαμέριον στάζεις
Τὸν πολύκαρπον
Οἰνάνθας ἱεῖσα βότρυν·
Ζάθεα τ' ἄντρα δράκοντος,
Οὔρειαί τε σκοπιαὶ θεῶν

Arkite than this accumulation of sacred objects, and mysterious allusions. The whole of the play, indeed, is founded on a custom which affords additional evidence to the same purpose; a custom of exposing infants in a circular chest or Ark [1], with golden serpents round their necks — a custom which they had received from their ancestors in conformity to the law of the earth-born Erichthonius [2], who, it will be recollected, was half serpent-formed himself. It has been already abundantly shown, that the serpent was a type of the deluge, and therefore, in the Dionysia, the votaries

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Νιφόβολον τ' ἔρος ἱερὸν
Ἑλίσσων ἀθανάτας Διὸς
Χορὸς γενοίμαν ἄφοβος
Παρὰ μεσόμφαλα γύαλα Φοίβου,
Δίρκαν προλιποῦσα. *Eurip. Phœnissæ*, 237.

In the tenth line, Musgrave suggests θαλάμας as a correction for ἀθανάτας; and it would greatly improve the sense; for the Scholiast upon Nicander says, that θάλαμαι are certain subterranean sacred places, which Lycophron calls ἄντρα Κερδῴου Διοῦ, v. 208. *Alexipharm.* v. viii. If the conjecture is admissible, that Io is the moon-shaped hill, this is an additional evidence. Oina is here, like the Eridanus, and the Nile, and the Ganges, the representative of the mighty waters; and to Oina may be traced the name of the Inn which descends from the Alps. Aristotle mentions an Oinarea, a town in Etruria, which had in its centre a tumulus (λοφος), thirty stadia in height and abounding in water. It was governed by freedmen, which Aristotle erroneously supposes to mean servants; they were called so in commemoration of the freedom, which their ancestors obtained from the confinement of the Ark. — *De Mirandis Auscult.* i. 707.

1 Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ
Προγόνων νόμον σώζουσα τοῦ τε γηγενοῦς
Ἐριχθονίου. *Ion.* v. 20.

2 Erichthonius and Erechtheus are really the same, as many writers agree; both titles of Neptune. — *Philolog. Mus.* p. 360. Now Ἐρεχθεὺς Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις. — *Hesych.*

encircled themselves with snakes[1]; and Apollo is said to have slain the serpent Pytho, the offspring of Deucalion's deluge, when his rites superseded those of the Arkites in that Delphic cell, from which the Pythian priestess took her name[2]; for God, as the cause of the deluge, being confounded with the deified Patriarch, who survived it, the symbol of the destroying waters was used interchangably with the symbol of the victorious master of the ark; and hence arose the saying of the poet, cited by Clemens[3], which has been already explained, that the bull was the father of the dragon, and the dragon of the bull. Accordingly, Euripides calls the ocean bull-headed[4]; a notion which might seem to have been suggested by an Indian drawing, which represents a head with horns floating in solitude on the boundless ocean, ♉.[5] It is, however, called the head of Hayagriva, the giant, but with great inconsistency; for the legend only relates the ripping open of his belly to recover the Vedas which he had swallowed. It is obviously the Ark, from the cavity of which the Patriarch issued forth with the doctrines of true religion; and as, on the one hand, Neptune is

1 Pars sese tortis serpentibus incingebant.
Catullus in Argonaut.

2 Ubi Delphica Pytho? — *Tibullus*, ii. 3.

3 ——ταῦρος
Πατὴρ δράκοντος, καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων·
Ἐν ὄρει τὸ κρύφιον βουκόλος τὸ κέντρον.
Clem. Alex. Cohort. 14.

Βουκόλος should probably be βουκολοῦ: the mysterious goad of the priest was in the mountain.

4 Eurip. Orest. 1384.

5 Maurice's Indian Antiquities, ii. 273. the plate of the Matse Avatar.

called a bull[1], and a bull was his minister of vengeance[2], so on the other, Dionusus is invoked by the Bacchanals, not only as a bull, but as a many-headed dragon too.[3] One of the fragments of poetry attributed to Orpheus gives an etymology of his name, which, like most attempts by Grecian writers to explain obscurities, makes the antiquarian inquirer smile at their vanity; but which, nevertheless, shows what sort of mystic character was usually assigned to him: it tells us, that he whom men now call Phanes, and Eubouleus, and Antaughe, and who first issued forth into light (from the darkness of the Ark), obtains his name of Dionusus, because he winds himself round the lofty Olympus.[4] It is not difficult to account for his being denominated Eubouleus, the sage counsellor, who was contemporary with Ceres, and to whose mystic sows there is an obscure allusion in Clemens, which coincides very well with the explanation which has been given of the Hyads, the gushing waters which were swallowed up in the chasm that received the retiring deluge[5]; but the

[1] Hesiod's Shield of Hercules, p. 105.

[2] Eurip. Hippolytus, 1228.

[3] Eurip. Bacchæ, 1017. In the mysteries of the Sabazii a serpent was drawn over the body of the initiated. Σαβαζίων μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μυουμένοις, ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεὸς· δράκων δὲ ἐστὶ οὗτος, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων. — *Clem. Alex. Cohort.* p. 14.

[4] Ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φανητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον
Εὐβουλῆα τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἐριδηλον
Πρῶτος δ' ἐς φάος ἦλθε, Διώνυσος δ' ἐπεκλήθη,
Οὕνεκα δινεῖται κατ' ἀπείρονα μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον.
From *Macrob. Satur.* i. 18.

[5] Τὸ σχίσμα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰς ὗς, τὰς Εὐβουλέως τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖς θεαῖν. (*Clem. Alex. Cohort.* p. 14.) Vide Hush.

remaining title may require further explanation. In the Eleusinian mysteries, the following declarations were required from those who were initiated: "I have eaten from the Tympanum; I have drunk from the Cymbalum; I have borne the Cernum; I have crept into the secret cell."[1] Of the latter ceremony I shall have more to say when the Cromlech comes under consideration. The other terms are extremely obscure; but it may be conjectured that the two first — the skin-covered circle, and the boat-shaped vessel[2], though afterwards appropriated to musical purposes, were originally Arkite symbols; for one of their mysterious ceremonies was the lying under a tight-stretched ox's hide. But the Cernum was a mystic cup, or vase, in which lamps were placed.[3] The reflection, therefore, of this light from the mountain cell was called Antauge; and the name was applied to the divinity of the place: it is therefore as much an Arkite title as all the rest. The invention of the mysteries is, indeed, ascribed to Noah himself, to his children, and grand-children, by a writer whose work cannot be quoted as history, or as evidence, for it is a forgery, but still it shows the opinion of a scholar well versed in ancient records, as to the matter of fact on which this fabrication is founded. His name was Fortia. He was one of the authors of that learned work "L'Art de Vérifier

[1] Ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυον. Ibid.

[2] Κύμβαλον, from κύμβη, Cymba.

[3] Ἐφ' ὧν λύχνους τιθέασιν. — *Scholiast. on Nicander.* Τὰ κέρνα ferebant, quæ interpretantur ἐσχαρίδας, hoc est, foculos; quia κέρνος erat poculi quoque genus. — *Scaliger, Poetio.* lib. i. c. 18.

les Dates :" though it may be thought that he was better skilled in the art of falsifying them ; for he wrote memoirs for forming an ancient history of the earth [1], in which it was his object to demonstrate, that the deluges of Yao in China, of Noah, of Ogyges, and of the Atlantis, were all one and the same: and so far he was right; but then, to confirm his views, he produced a pretended translation into French, of the sixth book of a history, by the Cyrænian or Cyrenæan Eumelus, containing Excerpta from the Libyan history of Aristippus, the Cyrenæan mentioned by Diogenes Laertius; and thus he makes the learned Cyrenæan discourse: " Ogyges, which, in Phœnician, signifies a Preserver, was the last king of Atlantis, which, during his reign, was overwhelmed by a deluge: he himself, and his sons, Cressus, Cadmus, Pelasgus, and Janus, escaped with much difficulty. In their wanderings over the ocean, Cressus settled in Crete, and there founded the Paternal Mysteries : Cadmus founded Thebes with its Ogygian gate ; his son Eleusis instituted the Eleusinian mysteries. Pelasgus settled in Arcadia, and caused it to be celebrated for the mysteries of Pan ; Janus succeeded Saturn in Italy, and was named Janus Saturnus, and he also was the founder of mysteries: lastly, Ogyges occupied Phœnicia, and established the same mysteries as Atlas did in Libya; Ogyges was afterwards called Noa." [2] According to this view of

[1] Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ancienne du globe terrestre. Par. 1805 to 1809.

[2] From Aug. Boeckhius's Prolusio Academica de Titulis, &c.

the matter, all the mysteries were instituted by Noa and the Noachidæ; and though it is not history, but rather an historical romance, and imagination has carved out the facts at her own pleasure, yet there must have been a considerable verisimilitude in the judgment of the author as to the main inferences, or it would not have been worth his while to frame such a fiction: he must have thought that they had all an Arkite origin.

How long the real import of the Arkité symbols continued to be taught in the mysteries, it is impossible to conjecture; for when certain forms have become consecrated by long usage, they are often retained long after they have ceased to preserve any proper significance; of which we have an instance in the Mahommedan crescent: for the Mussulmans cannot be accused of adoring the moon, or the Ark, or the Mountain; and yet to one or other of these superstitions its origin must be referred.[1] But where considerable ingenuity has been exercised to produce the same form from very untractable materials, it may be suspected that some deeper feeling was at work than bare attachment to a custom; and therefore, when we see it produced on a piece of sculpture brought from the ruins of Babylon[2], by the device of two bulls, with their hind legs lifted high into the air,

[1] A remnant of ancient superstitions is still to be observed in Egypt, which seems to determine this point: above the dome of the Mosque of the Imam Esh Shafáee is fixed a metal boat, in which there used to be placed five bushels of wheat, and a camel-load of water; and as it turned, it betokened various events, good and evil. It is the ancient Bari. — *Lane's Modern Egyptians*, ii. 26.

2. Keppel's Travels, i. 186.

by a man standing behind each, who with his sword prolongs the curve by forcing one of the legs almost into a line with the body, while their heads almost touch in a horizontal position, it is impossible not to conclude, that it was the invention of a sect, whose religious rites differed very materially from those of the Chaldæans, among whom some reserve in the exhibition of the opposite symbols might be dictated by prudence. There may also be a covert allusion in the hieroglyphic itself to the persecution, which they suffered, and which, in India, is thus related by tradition.[1] The Bhâts (who in Italy were Vates), formed a sacred order created by Mahadeo to guard his sacred bull; and it was their function to sing the praises of the gods and heroes; but his bulls were eaten by a lion of the god almost every day; that is, they were timid, and shrunk from the support of those rites, to which the bull belonged. So Siva discharged the Bhâts, and formed the Charuns, who were more courageous: and this explains why in Egypt the Arkite ferryman was denominated Charon. He belonged to that order of priests. Even in Babylon, however, there must have been some of this courageous order; for on another relic of antiquity from that place, the design is plainly and unequivocally Arkite.[2] Two persons are seated, a male and a female, with an altar between them shaped thus ; with a fish over it, and a star over the fish to mark its divinity. Near the star on one

[1] Heber's Letters, ii. 454.

[2] An agate cylinder presented by Captain Keppel to the British Museum.

side is another crescent, or rather Bari, ⌓. Keppel says that each holds a small fish; in the latter instance, if it must be a fish, it can be no other than the whale in Hamlet; a cloud ready to take any shape which may suit the fancy of the observer; for it has the shape of a boat, ⌓. The first figure he supposes to be a priest; the other, "a princess offering sacrifice to the large fish on the altar, probably the earliest form of the idol Dagon.[1] This idol has been thought to have been an emblem of Noah." In the latter instance, therefore, the crescent must be the two-horned mountain, on which the Ark rested. A passage in Tasso shows how naturally such a description may be applied to the outline of a mountain, and at the same time how easily both the sun and moon may be indebted to the mountain for their sacred character. He speaks of two mountains in Persia; one of which takes its name from the sun, on account of its lustre, when his rays fall upon it; and the other from the moon, because it is entirely shaped after her beautiful form, and with her horns.[2] The Cernon of the Mysteries was perhaps something in the shape of the Babylonian altar above mentioned; a conical, or pyramidical pedestal supporting a scyphus, which contained the divinity, whether of fire or of water. For portable

[1] Travels, i. 186.

[2] Ma segue un altra poi della sorella
Il corso vago, e di sue belle forme
Par che tutta s'informe
E di sue corne; e quindi ancor s'appella.
Canzone III. iii. 107.

pyramids were certainly carried in the baskets of Bacchus [1] and Ceres; and Cerne was a name given to islands, both in the East and West [2], because they were deemed the truest representatives of the diluvian mountain, when it first reared its head above the waters of the retiring deluge. The word itself is not a native of Greece: its etymology must be sought for at a distance; and none is more probable than the Hebrew Keren, which signifies either a hill or a horn, because each horn of the crescent was a hill or mountain peak. Thus in the fifth chapter of Isaiah [3] the words translated, "A fruitful hill," are literally a horn, the son of fruitfulness. It is on this account, that a mysterious and almost sacred character has descended upon horns even in times not very remote; and many instances might be cited of lands being held by the tenure of a horn.[4] Some of these are of great antiquity; and their mythological character is indicated by the lunular form, which they generally preserve. The tip of that belonging to Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, viewed in an upright position, is a type of the Indian Ararat. Half-way up, it is surrounded by an embattled circle, above which are the heads of the Trimurti; which the early Christians misunderstanding, transferred to their own Triune God. But they are crowned, and the crown is like the Lotus, from the centre of which rises the

[1] Montfaucon, xii. 195.

[2] Cornwall was called by the ancient Britons, Kernaw, which is evidently the same as Cerne. It is full of Arkite monuments.

[3] קרן בן שמן, vol. i.

[4] Archæologia, iii. 19.

peak of Meru.[1] So too in Egypt Orus, *i. e.* the mountain, is often represented in a flower of the Lotus. There is one instance[2], at least, in which the same name has been applied to the points of hills by the Greeks; for near Megara[3], two detached rocks, which crown the summit of the modern Mount Pyrgo, were formerly named Kerata, or the horns; and in fact, every summit was called Caren, *i. e.* Cairn.[4] Since, therefore, these mountain-horns were the favourite haunts of Bacchus[5], as well as Pan, it is no wonder that they often decorate his figure.

Much more evidence might be adduced upon this subject to illustrate the character of Dionusus[6]; but enough has been already alleged to explain a description of him in the Orphic Hymns, which would otherwise be nearly unintelligible.[7] He is there entitled the bull-horned, the mysterious offspring of Jupiter, partaker of a threefold state,

[1] The Brahmanda Purana states that from the navel of Vishnu sprung the worldly Lotus, abounding with trees and plants: in the middle like the germ is Meru, which is called a great mountain of various colours, the greatest of all mountains. — *Moor's Hindu Panth.* p. 269.

[2] Etudes de l'Histoire Ancienne par Levesque, ii. 57.

[3] There was a tradition at Megara, that Megarus saved himself on Mount Geranim. — *Abbé Banier*, iii. 49.

[4] Κάρηνον, vertex, summitas. — *Scap. Lex.*

[5] Ὁ Βακχεῖος θεὸς ναίων ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀρεών. — *Sophoc. Œdip. Colon.* 1125.

[6] Quin ille (*i. e.* Noe) sit vetustissimus Liber minime dubium videtur. (*Vossius de Idololat.* p. 198.) Idem Noachus pro Baccho ob vitis sationem habitus et pari vocum flexu (alluding to the change of Noachus into Eunouchus) εὐὰν Ἰακχὸν orgia celebrantes solenniter inclamabant. — *Theophilus ad Autolycum*, lib. iii. p. 339.

[7] Ταυρόκερως — τριφυὲς κρύφιον Διὸς ἔρνος
Πρωτογόνος — θεῶν πάτερ ἠδὲ καὶ υἱὲ — πυριφεγγὲς — διμάτωρ
Οὐρεσιφοῖτα ἔρως. *Orph. Hymn.* 51.

that is, 1. before the flood; 2. in the Ark, during its continuance; and 3. in the postdiluvian world; the first-born, the father and the son of gods, glowing with fire, twice born, the haunter of mountains, Eros, the god of love. On this last point, however, it may be further observed, that the Hindoos have a dirge commemorative of the death of the Indian Cupid, — Eros, the Menû, previously to his enclosure in an ark, and being set afloat on the ocean.[1] They fell, indeed, into the Egyptian error, of making death precede his entombment in the Ark, which was therefore converted into a coffin; a deviation from truth, which arose naturally enough from the practice of resorting for interment to those cairns, or other monuments, which combined in themselves the sanctuary and the sacred Mount. Enough, too, has been alleged to show, that the Pythian priestess in Æschylus, although she may seem to throw off her allegiance to the sun, is in fact only reverting to the original *religio loci*, when she enumerates as the special objects of her worship, the nymphs of the Corycian cave, the asylum of the deified men, and Bacchus, who presided

[1] As. Res. iii. 137. In a fragment attributed by Plutarch to Euripides, and by Stobæus to Sophocles, the same deity is said to be called Venus and Bacchus, besides other things equally dissimilar in the popular sense, but equally explicable by referring to first principles.

Οὐ Κύπρις μόνην,
Ἀλλ' ἔστι πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος,
Ἔστιν μὲν Ἅδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βία,
Ἔστιν δὲ Λυσσαμαινὰς (which may be derived from Λυσιος Μηνης).

Heraclitus was of opinion, that Pluto and Dionusus were the same; and Plutarch says, that his name in Egypt was Serapis, which is the same as Osiris, or, as some explain it, the Soros of Apis the Bull. — *De Is. et Osir. Op. Phor.* iv. 483.

over the place, and the neighbouring fountains, and the god of the ocean [1]: for the Corycian cave contained a river, and it was in a mountain near the sea, and we are assured that it was considered truly sacred, and deemed a fit habitation for the gods.[2]

Σέβω δὲ νύμφας ἔνθα Κωρυκὶς πέτρα
Κοίλη φίλορνις, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφὴ,
Βρόμιος δ' ἔχει τὸν χῶρον
Πλείστου τε πηγὰς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος
Καλοῦσα. *Æschyl. Eumenides.*

Bromius, like Dionusus, comes from India, which coincides with the story of his conquests there; it is derived from Bramha, or Brumha and so is Bacchus from Baghavat, the preserving power. — *As. Res.* iii. 118.

[2] Totus autem augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a diis et dignus et creditur. — *Pomponius Mela de Situ Orbis*, c. 13. Æschylus makes a distinction, which is not here observed: it was the abode, not of the gods, but of dæmons, or deified men.

CHAP. XVI.

WHY APOLLO IS CALLED GRYNIAN TITAN. — GERYON: HIS SHIP-TEMPLE. — OTHERS AT TIRYNS. — GERASTE. — PHŒACIA. — TREASURY OF ATREUS. — NEW GRANGE. — BATTLE BETWEEN HERCULES AND ALCYONEUS. — MITHRAS AND HIS CAVES. — STORIES OF PROMETHEUS AND MINOS. — LEGENDS OF THE TITANS EXPLAINED. — HOW THE SUN AND MOON WERE SO CALLED. — FIRE AND WATER EQUALLY EMBLEMS OF PURIFICATION AND OF DESTRUCTION.

It now only remains to show, that the same explanation, which serves to account for the names of Pan and Bacchus being applied to Apollo, will be of equal use in elucidating the origin of his other title, the Grynian Titan. Virgil calls him Grynæan too[1]; and therefore in that obscure passage of Lycophron, where it is a question whether he wrote Grenos or Grynos, the latter is most probable: the poet alludes to an ancient strife and victory of the fireworshippers.[2] Now certainly the first of these terms will admit of a very consistent interpretation: for Geranos was the name of a circular dance already noticed, similar to that which for a long time continued to be used in the Celtic islands of the West. A recent authoress[3] has described

[1] Eclog. vi. 72.

[2] Γρηνὸς, or γρυνὸς ἀρχαίαν ἔριν. — *Lyc. Cassand.* 1362. ἀρχαίαν may also mean Arkite; for Arca is certainly derived from ἀρχὴ; and so is Αρκας.

[3] Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland, p. 8.

the ceremony, which she herself witnessed. When the cattle were driven through the blazing fire, the young people followed, and each seizing a lighted brand, they formed a sort of irregular winding dance, waving the flaming torches over their heads, and shouting in a sort of rude chorus. In the same way, no doubt, the young women of Delos danced round the altar of their god after the annual sacrifice: for every year, a ship was sent for that purpose to the sacred island; and on her return she was greeted with loud acclamations, and during her voyage no one was allowed to be put to death; for it was a rite commemorative of preservation and deliverance.[1] Several circumstances mentioned by Virgil lead to the same conclusion. The first sacrifice offered by Æneas there was a bull to Neptune.[2] It was his favourite sanctuary; and an oracle issued from a subterranean cell, which must have been constructed in the bosom of the mountain, for Cynthus trembled all around.[3] The island had been once in motion, which is another instance of the confusion which arises from blending together in one object the symbols of the Ark and the mountain[4], on which it rested. The sanctuary, which gave its whole value to the island,

[1] So much is acknowledged by the idle tale about the Minotaur, which only proves, that the cause was not historical, but purely mystic; and the real import of the fable has been already shown.

[2] Sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
Nereidum matri et Neptuno Ægeo. — *Æneid*, iii. 73.

[3] Totusque moveri
Mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis. Ibid. 91.

[4] So also the ship was called Theoris, which is θεοῦ ὄρος, the mountain of God.

was the symbol of the floating ark, which became fixed, when the person, afterwards worshipped as Apollo, was born by issuing from its womb. But the moon was born there first; which indicates the state of transition from Arkite to Solar rites; and Apollo's first exploit was the conquest of the diluvian Python, which was undoubtedly a struggle for divine honours, notwithstanding the pains which Plutarch takes to contradict the injurious report.[1] Hoffman observes that it appears to be double, or, in other words, to have two horns, one of which was called the island Rhenia[2], and by the natives Fermene: now Mene is obviously the Moon, and Fer may be derived from Baris, like the islands Pharos and Pharis.[3] Lastly, Delos was in the centre of the Cyclades[4], or circular islands, and consequently an exact image of Meru in the Ilavratta of the Hindoos. But although these considerations show that the Geranos, or circular dance, may have had some share in the ancient strife, to which the poet alludes, yet the passage in Plutarch points out the true reading; for it appears that the theologians of Delphi made no scruple of declaring, that the strife was in fact about the oracle, which, being a source of profit to the priests, was the bone of contention between the rival sects. In Greek Gruon[5], or Geruon[6], signifies something which

[1] Περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου μάχην γενέσθαι.—*Plut. de Defect. Orac.* c. 15.

[2] Rhŷn in Celtic is a hill. — *Lluyd's Archæol. Brittan.*; and so the Rhenus, or Rhine, is spelt in the Dutch language.

[3] Theophrastus, lib. iv. c. 4.

[4] Cycladum media. — *Pliny*, iv. 12.

[5] Γρυνος from Γρυων, like κυνος from κυων.

[6] Γηρύειν, φωνεῖν, λέγειν, Hesych.: the Dorians use Γαρύειν.

pronounces, or speaks, and consequently it might very well be applied to an oracle; hence Grynium was celebrated for its oracle.[1] It is obviously derived from the Hebrew Garon, the throat or mouth[2]: and this is the true key to the fable of Geryon. That he had no historical existence has been already shown, and may well be inferred from the contradictory statements of those who have handed down to us the traditions concerning him. We have seen that, according to Hecatæus[3], he was king of Ambracia in Epirus, where the cattle were famous for their magnitude, and consequently were worth driving away. But Palæphatus is quite sure that he lived at Tricarenia in the Euxine Sea, and that the notion of his having three heads arose from the name of the place. But the most common tradition fixed him at Erytheia, near the straits of Gibraltar; and thither Hercules went on purpose to fetch away the cattle: but as Bochart very pertinently observes, if this were true, and if it was really famous for its breed of cattle, that circumstance would not have been omitted by Strabo, who dwells much upon its merits as a sheep pasture. The truth is, that, as the name of a man, it was altogether fictitious: it was the name of an oracle, which might have one establishment at the trident-shaped sanctuary in the Euxine, another on the Ambraciot mountains, and a third at Erytheia, which was therefore called Gerontis Arx; whence,

[1] Strabo, lib. xiii.

[2] Thus in Psalm cxlix. 6. Let the praises of God be in their mouth. The word is בִּגְרוֹנָם.

[3] Arrian. Anabas. lib. ii.

says Festus Avienus, we have heard that Geryon derived his name.[1] It was in the neighbourhood of a Mons Cassius which reminds us of that in Egypt and in Syria, and of Gaddir, where the author saw nothing wonderful, except the rites of Hercules.[2] And what rites these were, may be guessed from the tradition, that he was the author of a deluge by opening a passage for the waters of the Atlantic through the straits of Gibraltar.[3] The rocks on either side of these straits, formerly called Calpe and Abila[4], both of which signify a high mountain, in a secondary sense probably, derived from the position of the first great ship, are usually considered his pillars; and so they were: for they were sacred to him, and so were the Stelæ, if they ever existed, whether of brass, or of more precious metal, which he is said to have raised somewhere in that neighbourhood as monuments of his voyage.[5] It is highly probable that some such monuments may have been erected, and dedicated to his worship, in memory of those two peaks, which were the first token to the man of the Ark, that the work

[1] Ora Maritima, p. 264.

[2] Herculaneam solennitatem. Ibid. p. 274. He supposes Gaddir to be distinct from Erytheia; Apollodorus declares, that they were the same, lib. ii., which confirms the view which I have taken of them before.

[3] Pomponius Mela, de Situ Orbis, l. i. c. 5.

[4] Maurusiorum est Abila; and Abilam vocant Gens Punicorum, mons quod altus barbaro est, id est, Latino. — *Festus Avienus. Ora Maritima*, p. 346.

Alp signifies in High Dutch a grassy place in the middle of a high mountain. — *Allgemeines Deutsches Conversations Lexicon.*

[5] Apollodorus, lib. ii. σημεῖα τῆς πορείας. Has columnas ex auro et argento conflatas describit Philostratus, at Strabo solum æreas. — *Bochart, Geog. Sac.* p. 610.

of destruction was over, and that the waters were retiring. A very singular statement of the purpose, for which they were designed, has been given by Philostratus.[1] Apollonius being asked what they were, replied that they were the bond, which unites the ocean and the earth; and that they were inscribed by Hercules in the house of the Moiræ or Fates, in order that there might be no future contention of the elements, and that their amity might never be disturbed. Here the memorial of the double-horned mountain is substituted for the bow; but otherwise it is a very exact equivalent to the declaration of God in Scripture — I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood, neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.[2] It is absurd therefore to suppose, that his pillars were monuments of his voyage to Erytheia; for he was no pirate, or freebooter, but the divinity of the place, and not only had a temple on the north side of the straits, but also a sacred cave on the other in a mountain, which was called Ampelousia[3] from the first vineyard planted on Mount Ararat. But Euctemon the Athenian, it seems, denied that they were rocks[4]: he considered them to be islands, on which Hercules had temples and

[1] Γῆς καὶ Ὠκεάνου ξύνδεσμα αἱ στῆλαι εἰσὶν. Ἐγράψατο δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν μοιρῶν οἴκῳ, ὡς μήτε νεῖκος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐγένοιτο, μήτε ἀτιμήσειαν τὴν φιλότητα ἣν ἀλλήλων ἴσχουσιν. — *Philost. in Vita Apollon.*

[2] Gen. ix. 11.

[3] Promontorium, quod Græci Ἀμπελουσίαν appellant; in eo est specus Herculi sacer.— *Pomponius Mela de Situ Orbis*, i. 5. Calpe also had an extraordinary cave, see l. ii. c. 6.; and perhaps the two promontories were confounded.

[4] R. F. Avien. Ora Maritima, 361.

altars; and Festus Avienus was of the same opinion himself; for he describes Gadir as built over the sea (perhaps as a ship-temple), and resting upon two columns — the two islands Cotinusa, and Erytheia[1]: and they were both so holy, that it was not lawful for any one to dwell there.[2]

There was one circumstance, which, no doubt, contributed much to the veneration with which the Arkites regarded this spot: it contained a spring, which sometimes ebbed and flowed with the sea, and sometimes in the contrary order, ebbing during the flow, and flowing during the ebb[3] — an irregularity which seemed to make it a more fit type of the rise and fall of the diluvian waters. This spring was in the temple of Hercules[4]; so that his priests completely succeeded in establishing themselves there, after they had routed the ancient supporters of the oracle, although they could not eradicate the evidence of its original appropriation; the symbolical trident, which, doubtless, crowned its summit, gave occasion to the local fable of Geryon's three heads, and the dog Orthrus, who guarded it. The offspring of the serpent Echidna, and the semiserpent Typhon, was of course the defeated order of priests. Their con-

1 Gadir prima fretum solida supereminet arce,
Attollitque caput geminis inserta columnis.
Hæc Cotinussa, &c. — *Descript. Orbis Terræ*, 610.

Pomponius Mela places Gadir upon one, and the temple upon the other.

2 Nefas putatum demorari in insulis. — *R. F. Avien. Ora Mar.* 361.

3 Plin. lib. ii. c. 97.

4 In templo Herculis. — *Bochart. Geog. Sac.* p. 611. Ità Polybius apud Strabonem.

nection with Typhon is another proof that they symbolised with the Arkites of Egypt. The exiles under the name of Geryon's oxen, went first to Italy; where, as we have seen, they arrived in time to save Melicerta from the Bacchanals: perhaps, too, they gave its name to Italy, by introducing the diluvian bull into the sacred rites, at least Apollodorus assures us that to a bull belonging to the sons of Neptune, which the Tyrrhenes called Italus [1], that country was indebted for its denomination. They then proceeded to Tiryns [2], a favourite residence of Hercules before his priests apostatised; and at the time when Neptune, the protector of the bull and of Thebe, or the Ark, held him in high esteem [3]; and there they found, in what is called the fortress, another ship-temple. Bryant had no doubt that its plan was taken from the long ship of Danaus; and the opinion is confirmed by Sir William Gell [4], who testifies, from an examination of the ruins, that they bear a strong resemblance to that figure. It is true that he holds it to have been a fortress; but his own description contradicts the conjecture: the wall is about twenty-five feet thick, and consists of three parallel ranks of stones, five feet thick, of which the middlemost separates two galleries. Now, for what purpose could these galleries have been designed [5]? In a military point of view, they

[1] Τυρρήνοὶ γὰρ ἰταλὸν τὸν ταῦρον ἐκάλεσαν. — *Apoll.* lib. ii.

[2] Περιῤῥύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ
Ἤματι τῷ ὅτε περ βοὺς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους
Τίρυνθ' εἰς ἱερήν. *Hesiod. Theog.* 290.

[3] Shield of Hercules attributed to Hesiod, p. 105.

[4] Itinerary of Greece, p. 57.

[5] Subterraneous passages similar to these galleries, and covered

would have been useless; for there are no loop-holes or openings of any sort towards the plain: they lead to nothing but a few recesses or niches [1], about five feet wide, which must have had the same destination as the chambers of the daughters of Prœtus between Tiryns and the sea [2]; that is, they were sacred cells, and accordingly Prœtus is said to have been the builder. It is placed upon a small mount, not fifty feet above the level of the plain, although there are some insulated hills in the neighbourhood which presented much more convenient means of defence. It had a cistern on the top, corresponding to the Druidical rock basins, and within a few paces from the walls, a well; but surely, if it had been destined to any military purpose, the well would not have been left on the outside, where, in case of siege, it would have been of no use. The pains taken in the construction of it were quite disproportionate to any advantage to be derived from it in war; for it was not large enough to hold many inhabitants, and yet it is built of such enormous stones, that a yoke of mules could not draw the least of them — two courses were sufficient to form the walls, and two form the covering. It was reported to be the

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in the same way by the projection of horizontal courses, are visible in the hill of Phoroneus in Argos, which still preserves its original sanctity; for a chapel is built upon its summit.

[1] The niches are from $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $5\frac{10}{12}$ wide.

[2] The daughters of Prœtus fancied themselves cows, and filled the air with imaginary lowings.

Prœtides implerunt falsis mugitibus auras. — *Virg. Ecl.* vi. 48.

Thus they were ridiculed for introducing the mysterious horns into their religious rites.

work of the Cyclops [1]; but the Cyclops was a son of the oceanic deity [2], whose ship-temples were in the recesses of the Grecian land. But what were these recesses? They were no less than the most remarkable promontories of Greece, the sacred cave of Tænarus, which was said to be the gate to the regions of the dead, the hiding-places of Malea, the safety giving rock of Sunium, and the asylum of Geraste.[3] With respect to the ship-temple at the latter place, Mr. Ledwich observes, that it was dedicated to Artemis [4], that is, the moon; and he compares both it and the ship-temple of Phæacia [5], which was likewise formed of very many stones, with a monument, which he considers to be of the same description on the western coast of Mayo, in Ireland: it is seven feet high and fifteen long. The walls are formed of well-jointed stones; but, like all the Cyclopian buildings, without cement, and it is roofed with flagstones. It stands on an isolated conical hill, and is called by the natives the Giant's Bed.[6] The Cyclops was a giant too.

[1] Near Nauplia, the seaport of Argos, there are caverns with labyrinths in them, which are termed Cylcopian: it stands on a peninsula. — *Sir W. Gell's Itinerary*, p. 92.

[2] Ναῶν ἕδρας — ἐν Ἑλλαδος μυχοῖς — θεοῦ ποντίου παῖ. Hesiod, however, makes him the brother of Ocean, and Saturn, and Arge. — *Theog.* i. 140.

[3] Ἱερός τ' ἄθραυστος Ταινάρου μένει λιμὴν,
Μαλέας τ' ἄκροι κευθμῶνες, ἥ τε Σουνίου
Δίας Ἀθάνας σῶς ὑπάργυρος πέτρα
Γεραίστιοί τε καταφυγαί. *Eurip. Cyclops*, 292.

[4] Procop. Goth. Hist. l. iv. c. 22.

[5] The Phæacian ship was a monument to Jupiter Casius, the deity which that people worshipped, and the city in which it stood was called Κασιώπη.

[6] Archæologia, vii. 273. Leabha na Fathack : he thinks it is a ship with a round stern, after the most approved modern fashion.

The last particular that deserves notice in the ship-temple of Tiryns, is the triangular stone which had been placed over the architrave, above the eastern portal, or rather the opening to which Sir W. Gell supposed it to belong; for he observed similar triangular apertures over the entrances into another sacred cell, which is absurdly enough denominated the Treasury of Atreus [1]; for Plutarch relates, in his Life of Philopœmen, that the Messenians, having taken him prisoner, placed him in a treasury, which was under ground and without light; but to prevent his escape, they were obliged to close it with a large stone, for it had no door; and it seems, that not the smallest traces could be discovered of holes for bolts, or sockets for hinges: it could not, therefore, have been designed for a treasury. The traveller conjectures that the outer chamber (for there were two) may have been both a temple and a tomb, which would be in perfect accordance with the known appropriation of pyramids and other commemorative cells; the sacredness of the place being the precise motive for using it as a depository of the dead. In many tumuli bones have been found, which were evidently introduced subsequent to their formation: as, for instance, in those cases where they are found not much below the surface, or in the sides

[1] The outer cell is 47 feet in diameter and 50 high; the inner one is 27 by 20. — *Itinerary of Greece, by Sir W. Gell*, p. 30. The Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ is a tumulus of immense size— a cone covered with earth and turf. — *Clarke's Travels*, vi. 492. The Treasury of Mingas, like that of Atreus, has been surmounted by a dome of a conical form. — *Paus. Bœot.* c. 38. *Clarke*, vii. 213.

of the mound: thus, in England, we have a Druidical temple on a mound, which has once been encircled by upright stones; and near it there was a rocking-stone representing the Baris, and calculated to be of ten tons weight, where six feet below the surface some stone chests were discovered containing bones, which Mr. Rook supposes to be the relics of the ancient Druids [1]; for those only who officiated there would have the right of interment in such sacred ground: hence, it is plain, that the discovery of bones in tumuli is no proof at all that they were merely sepulchral monuments, and that the treasury of Atreus may have been used for a tomb as well as for a temple; but its sacred character is indicated both by the mound above it, which seems to have been formerly much higher, and by the triangular stones which must have occupied the openings; for even Gell observes that the triangular form may have had a particular signification, and that it was certainly a mysterious figure among the Egyptians [2]; and not only among the Egyptians, but in Britain, too, we are told, that a large rude monument, in a pyramidical form (for a pyramid is triangular on every side) was certainly a symbol of the great, invisible, and unknown God.[3] I cannot, therefore, quite acquiesce in Vallancey's interpretation of the hieroglyphics in the cave at New Grange, near Drogheda, in the county of Meath. It is a cave which much resembles the Treasury of Atreus,

[1] Archæologia, x. 106. [2] Itinerary, p. 40.
[3] Vallancey's Vindication of Ireland, iv. 481.

not only in its name, Grange[1] being in modern acceptation equivalent to Granary, but also in form, for in both the vault is formed by the projection of flat stones gradually closing it in, and both have an outward area as well as an interior sanctuary. But New Grange is more eloquent. On its walls are inscribed two circles, one of which being much larger than the other, they are supposed to be the sun and moon. So far, then, at least the cave was as much the property of the moon as of the sun. Under these twelve triangles stand on a curve, which is a portion of the circle, and Vallancey calls them the twelve signs of the zodiac; but in that case they should form an entire circle. It is more likely that they refer to the twelve successive months of confinement, and that the sun and moon are placed over them, in order to show that they are measures of time. But whatever may be the reason of their number, the form is that of pyramids. Beneath them, again, seven lozenges stand in the segment of another circle, and next follow two figures, each composed of seven concentric circles, representing the spheres of purification. Vallancey would have been right glad to find the planets in the circles, as well as the lozenges; but he had the sagacity to perceive that such an interpretation would have been irreconcilable with physical facts; for if these great astronomers held the popular opinion, that

[1] Vallancey derives it from Grein Uagh, the cave of Grein, iv. 211. by which he understands the Sun; but examination shows that it is more likely to be the cave of Geryon, the Oracle. Grian in the Celtic languages signified the bottom of the sea.

the earth is the centre of the planetary system, their astronomy would, at least, have taught them that the orbits were not concentric; besides, it would have been highly derogatory to the presiding divinity of the place, to mix him up with the inferior planets; and yet, without the sun, they could not have counted seven spheres. If, on the other hand, they were, like Pythagoras, Copernicans, and knew the sun to be the centre, how is it that he, the most important personage in the whole system, is not represented at all? and why did they assign to the moon a different orbit from the earth? A different interpretation, therefore, was requisite; and it is very likely that there may be an allusion to some Eastern notions of gradual purification [1] derived from the purification of the earth by the waters of the deluge; for the Hindoos say [2], that the king of mountains, the central pillar, Maha, Meru, or Mienmo, is encircled by seven chains of hills, between which are seven rivers or seas, called Sida, so that there is no possibility of arriving at the abode of the gods, without passing through these purifying waters. It may further be observed that the lozenges are like double pyramids, touching with their vertices the arc of a very flattened and vast circle, so that they may be taken for the mountains of the world, submerged under the vast expanse of water that surrounded all the globe. The cave itself bears evidence that ablution was one of the ceremonies practised there; for in the recesses on the right

[1] Vallancey's Collectanea, vi. 451.
[2] Upham's Hist. of Budhism, p. 77. pl. 21.

and left, it contained rock basins, three or four feet in diameter, and three in depth [1]; and since a stone pillar stood, like a small Meru, in the centre of the area, and since the cave itself was inscribed to He, or, as the Welsh write the same word, Hu [2], there can be no doubt of its Arkite origin; for this name of the Deity was used not only by the Celtic, but by the Egyptian Arkites too. Those who entered the temple of Serapis were obliged to carry on them the name of Tha-ho, or Tha-hou [3]: the first syllable is, probably, the Coptic article, by substituting Th for Ph [4]; for the last alone has been retained by the Arabs, and is still used by the Turks. Bachstrohm speaks of the Mahometans, that is, the Dervishes, singing with loud cries and violent gesticulations, the single word Hu [5]; and there is much plausibility in Sir W. Drummond's opinion, that similar sounds, which are of frequent occurrence in the prayers and cries

[1] Miss Beaufort's Essay, p. 35.

[2] Beauford's Druidism revived. — *Collectanea de R. H.* ii. 207. The author adds, that it was sacred also to the Great Mother, to Ceres, Isis, and the Ark.

[3] A city in the Nome of Hô, which corresponds to the ancient Diospolis Parva, is still called by the Arabs Hou. — *Mem. Geog. sur l'Egypte, par Quatremère,* p. 502.

[4] Συγγενὲς γὰρ τῷ φ τὸ θ. — *Athenæus,* l. xi. c. 65. Th se change en Grec en Ph. — *Monde Primitif, M. de Gebelin.* tom. i. p. 139. The contrary, therefore, may sometimes have occurred: φαπιαμουν was the same as πιαμουν, Locus Ammonis, used in the Coptic martyrologies for Thebes. Bȝb en Copte signifie une caverne. — *Mem. Géog. par Quatremère,* p. 251. *i. e.* Thebe the Ark.

[5] The same practice is observed in Kandahar, and in Persia; where it is said to have been introduced by Maghmud. Certain persons shut themselves up fourteen or fifteen days in a place where no light enters; and during this retreat they repeat incessantly, with a strong guttural voice, the word Hou. — *Account of Persia by Jonas Hanway,* vol. iii. c. 31, 32. 206.

of the Bacchants, are not mere interjections; and that when they say, "We worship Ho [1], " we are scarcely justified in understanding it to be a simple exclamation: it may be a contraction from Iao, which the Clarian oracle declared to be the name of the most high God [2], and which Selden deduces from the Hebrew Jehovah.[3] The Ei, which was inscribed upon the temple of Apollo, at Delphi, was probably the abbreviated form of this word, read, after the Grecian mode, from left to right; but the sound would be more correctly represented by He, or Hi; and since, according to Toland, I in Irish signifies an island, and is often written Hii, Ji, Hu, it is evident that the name was very early associated with insular and oceanic worship; and the Egyptians had good reason for giving the name of Hou to one of their sanctuaries, which was placed on an eminence out of the reach of the inundation.[4]

If it be admitted, that New Grange was consecrated to He, and that the Delphic Ei is the

[1] Io, O, and Iou. Σεβομεν Ω. — *Herculanensia, Dissert.* iii. 61. In one instance a similar meaning has been already ascribed to Io in the Phœnissæ, only transferred from the deity to the rock.

[2] Φράζεο τῶν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν' Ἰαώ.
Macrob. Sat. i. 18.

[3] Tetragrammaton a Græcis Ιαω exaratum fuisse patet ex Clem. Alexand. Strom. p. 5. Diod. Sic. &c. de Diis Syriis. Syntagmata.

[4] It has been already noticed, that the ruins of Diospolis parva are called Hou. — *Lettres sur l'Egypte, par M. Savary,* ii. 92. The Egyptian nomes were evidently at their origin appended to the temples: they were connected with the objects and forms of worship in various parts of Egypt. — *Heeren's Reflections on Africa,* ii. 112. Hence the names of their gods became the names of places.

same word differently spelt, it may deserve notice, that at Sleigh Grian, in the county of Kilkenny, where there are some remains of a Druidical circle, an inscription has been found, which is supposed to bear the name of Dionusus: for it is to be recollected that, at Delphi, he shared the honours of Apollo.[1] A similar Druidical circle exists near New Grange, with the remains of a Cromlech; and on the brow of an adjoining hill is a very large tumulus, under which, report says, that there is a cave like that at New Grange. It is impossible not to suspect that these circles of stone and the circular dance called Granus[2], of which more will be said hereafter, have something in common, especially since it appears that there are in Ireland certain Celtic monuments, which the ignorant natives call the beds of Darby and Granny.[3] For both these words, when released from popular corruption, admit of nearly the same interpretation in Hebrew; so that in combination they mean either the mouth of the oracle, or the word of the oracle. Debir, says Parkhurst, is the oracle, or speaking place; that part of the temple, from whence Jehovah spake, and issued his orders and directions, otherwise called the Holy of Holies. A similar association of ideas seems to have given to the

[1] Καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, ᾧ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν. — *Plutarch. de Ei in Delphis*, c. 9. *Op.* iv. 591. The inscription is mentioned in Tighe's statistical report. — *Collect. de Reb. Hib.* vi. 164.

[2] Gruter gives the inscriptions of nine altars dedicated to Apollini Granno; one of which was found at Musselburgh in Scotland, and another near Edinburgh. — *Inscript.* p. 36.

[3] Collectan. de Reb. Hib. iv. 80.

Cornish Celtic word, Grân, the sense of command.[1] In other Celtic dialects, Grian means the bed of the sea[2]; and this may in some degree account for the mistake, by which these rocks are converted into beds: for the Irish word is Leaba, and our Irish antiquary informs us, that Leabhar Naoi signifies an ark, or ship, and Leaban is one of the names given to mountains, on which the Ark of Noah was supposed to have rested.[3] May we not then be allowed to conjecture that Naoi, which, according to the same authority, signifies a ship, or mariner[4], or Noah, has been corrupted into New, and that the whole name signifies, The Oracle of the Ship, or of the Navigator? For the same Hebrew word, which denotes the organ of pronunciation, is also used for a threshing-floor, or granary. I do not mean to assert that the Arkites maintained undisputed dominion there: on the contrary, there is evidence, that the fire-worshippers had established themselves in this retreat, as well as in others; for a large flat stone, in the recess opposite to the entrance, was quite blackened with the smoke of the sacred fire.[5] The Geryon of Spain

[1] *Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall.*

[2] *Lluyd's Archæologia Britannica.* Hence in Welsh Graian means *gravel.*

[3] Noah's vineyard is said by Cedrenus to have been on Luban, which seems to be Lebanah, the moon, the Levana of the Germans, who die neugebornen Kinder aufhob, *i. e.* Lucina. — *Barth's Hertha.*

[4] Collectan. de Reb. Hib. Introd. vol. iv. p. 36.

[5] In like manner in the Mammoth cave in Kentucky, Mr. Vigne found numerous small pyramids of broken fragments raised by the Aborigenes, who have left traces of their existence throughout the whole of North America; and under one of them which he pulled down he discovered marks of fire. It will be shown, that these Aborigines

experienced a similar revolution; but in that case it was the result of Arkite apostacy. Stesichorus affirms that the sun once sailed over the ocean [1]; of course he means the person who was venerated in that luminary: and for the same reason the Egyptians represent all their gods as navigators.[2] His ship however, in this instance, is called a cup, and that for two reasons — first, because ships of that form were then constructed by the Armenians, and, indeed, are still in use in the Mesopotamian rivers, just as they are described by Herodotus.[3] That in which Captain Keppel ascended the Euphrates was shaped like a large circular basket, made of willow and covered with bitumen.[4] They are said to be common both in that river and in the Tigris. But in the next place, it was a convenient equivocation to disguise the real facts; for Hercules sailed in this same cup, or ship, in his expedition against the cattle of Geryon. The sun made him a present of it. The statement thus far appears to be quite extravagant and senseless: but if we inquire into the occasion of so much solar

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were Arkites; and they may have built the pyramids in order to conceal under a sacred emblem the mark of fire, with which some intruders had profaned their sanctuary. — *Travels in Amer.* ii. 49. and 51.

[1] Τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον ὁ Στησίχορος ποτηρίῳ διαπλεῖν φησὶν τὸν ὠκεανόν· ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα περαιωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρύονου βόας ὁρμῶντα. — *Athen* lib. xi. c. 16.

[2] Τούς τε Αἰγυπτίους τοὺς δαίμονας ἅπαντας οὐκ ἐστάναι ἐπὶ στερεοῦ, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐπὶ πλοίου, καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον, καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντας. — *Porphyrius, de Antro Nympharum,* c. 10.

[3] Ἐπεὰν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι — νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν — ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες. — *Herod.* lib. i. c. 194.

[4] Keppel's Travels, i. 192.

generosity, the meaning of the transaction becomes plain enough. It is said, then, that the sun being too warm, Hercules bent his bow against him; but Apollo admiring his valour gave him the golden cup, in which he crossed the ocean[1]; in other words, the priests of Hercules made demonstrations of hostility against the priests of Apollo, from which they were induced to desist, partly by a bribe, and partly by an engagement, that the others would discard from their rites the emblem of the ship, which the Arkites claimed as their own. In consequence of this base compromise, their brethren at Erytheia were driven away from their oracle, and migrated to other lands. Still, the usurpers were not allowed to enjoy their victory without one more hard, but ineffectual, struggle on the part of the more faithful Arkites. An attempt was made by Alcyoneus and his brethren, to drive away from Erytheia the cattle, *i. e.* the sacrifices of the Sun. It has been already shown, that the battle between Hercules and Alcyoneus was a dispute between two orders of priests, both originally and fundamentally Arkite; but those, to whom the latter appellation was appropriated, were more steady in their adherence to the ancient rites. They had previously signalised their fidelity by a successful opposition to the innovations of Ophiolatry, or the worship of the serpent. The story is thus related after the usual fashion of the Mythologists, obscurely but significantly:—Sybaris, whose name is obviously derived from the Baris, was a monster

[1] Apollodorus, lib. ii.

that inhabited an enormous cave in mount Cirphis, at the foot of Parnassus.

The Delphians were told that a boy must be exposed in the cave: for this purpose Alcyoneus was chosen. But Eurybatus descended from the river Axius, went forth from the land of the Curetes[1], and took his place, and dragged Sybaris from his lair, and dashed out his brains upon the rocks of Crissa; and behold, a fountain issued forth from that spot. The singular and not very intelligible fiction, which ascribes to the river Sybaris in Italy, and to the river Axius in Macedonia, the same property of turning the cattle which drank of them black, while in each case a neighbouring river did exactly the reverse, and turned them white[2], indicates a mysterious affinity between them, which gives some colour to the conjecture, that it was a strife of sacerdotal jealousy, which is thus recorded. At first sight the combination in so small a compass of such remote localities, as the Macedonian Axius, the Phocian Parnassus, and the country of the Curetes, appears quite unaccountable. Any hypothesis therefore, which will connect them together without violence, must so far acquire an air of probability. Now it has been shown that the Curetes, or Corybantes, were Arkites, and that Parnassus was a diluvian mount, where Deucalion was supposed to have landed: and though it is impossible to give an equally satisfactory account of Axius, yet since that word entered into the com-

1 Ἐκ τῆς κουρήτιδος ἀπιών. — *Anton. Liberalis. Metamorphos.*
2 Hoffmanni Lex.

position of all the names of the Samothracian deities, it may be safely taken for granted, that it had some connection with their rites. The fable therefore may be thus interpreted: — A priest named Eurybatus, who had been initiated into the Samothracian mysteries, was sent by the Curetes to the assistance of the Arkites at Delphi, and succeeded in dislodging from the sanctuary there a usurper, who had introduced the worship of the serpent, and who probably lost his life in the conflict. The fountain springing up on the rocks of Crissa shows that it was a diluvian deity, whose approbation was supposed to be thus signified. The Alcyoneus, or priests of the Ark, resident there, being feeble and likely to be overcome, are represented under the image of a boy about to be sacrificed. At Erytheia they were less fortunate; but their defeat must be entirely ascribed to the perfidy of their friends: for Alcyoneus, whose daughters shared with Alcyone, the daughter of Neptune, the honour of being metamorphosed into those birds, from which days of tranquillity are termed Halcyon[1] days, defied the thunderbolts of Jupiter. He was immortal, till a mortal should assist the gods: in other words, the ancient rites would never have been disturbed, if Jupiter and his brother idols had not

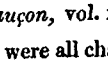
[1] The Halcyon days were seven in number during the incubation of the bird on the tranquil waters. — *Aulus Gellius*, lib. iii. It is quite clear that this can have no reference to natural history: they are probably the seven days between the first notice given by the Dove of restored tranquillity, by the olive leaf which she brought back, and her final enlargement when all danger was over.

Perque dies placidos hyberno tempore septem
Incubat Alcyone pendentibus æquore nidis.
Tum via tuta maris. — *Ovid. Metamorph.* lib. ii. fab. 11.

received assistance from the priests of Hercules, who was summoned to their aid; and even then it seemed almost impossible to achieve his destruction; for still he was immortal, as long as he continued to fight on the ground which gave him birth. The contrivance for getting rid of this difficulty sounds the most arrant nonsense that ever was penned by a sober man. The Goddess of Wisdom drew him out of the moon.[1] What! when he was fighting on the earth, to which he owed his immortality! The passage is entirely incapable of explanation, unless the scene of conflict bore some resemblance to the shape of the moon, from which resemblance the name was taken: but such was the form of the Egyptian Bari, and indeed of many ships both in ancient and in modern times.[2]

It appears, therefore, that Alcyoneus kept possession of the Oracle, till he was induced by some stratagem to quit the crescent-shaped ship-temple. It was an ill return on the part of Hercules for the mercy shown by the Moon to his wife Deianira[3], whose life was spared by the intercession of her intimate ally Dionusus, whom she was anxious to gratify. There was less difficulty in disposing of his brethren, the

[1] Ἕξω τῆς Σελήνης εἵλκυσε αὐτόν. — *Apollodorus de Orig. Deor.* p. 32. If it be true, that Athena is derived from Thanah, and not from Neith, the plural of which, Thanim, signifies in Hebrew serpents, Ophiolatry was at work here as well as at Parnassus. — See *Observationum Libellus Anonymus in Mythologiam.*

[2] An ancient Bronze of a ship carrying the seven days, Saturn being the first  . — *Montfaucon,* vol. xi. pl. 17.

[3] The other daughters of Althæa were all changed into birds, while weeping for their brother Meleager. Κατ' εὐμένειαν Διονύσου, ὅτι τὴν χάριν αὐτῷ Ἄρτεμις διδοῖ. — *Antonin. Liberal. Metamorph.*

inferior ministers and attendants; but the various weapons employed for their destruction relate more or less to the rites introduced by their victorious successors. The bow, which, as in the instance of the Archer in the Zodiac, seems to be a constant memorial of the heavenly bow, was the weapon most in request. All of them indeed were transfixed by the arrows of Hercules even after they were dead[1]: what could be the motive for thus slaying the slain, it may be difficult to pronounce with confidence; but it must be remembered, that Io, the moon, and Ioi, arrows, offered a convenient equivocation, which has been already noticed in the Devil's arrows of this country.[2] One of them had his right eye shot out by Hercules, and the left by Apollo; which shows, that they were not the same personage, though engaged in the same cause; another was demolished by an oaken Thyrsus, the Druidical maypole, with its garlands; another was pelted with balls of fire, of course by the fire-worshippers. This weapon is called Mudros. It may be doubted, whether the original meaning of the word was the same as that which has since been annexed to it.[3]

[1] Πάντας Ἡρακλῆς ἀπολλυμένους ἐτόξευσεν — *Apollod.* ut supra.

[2] Near Borobridge in Yorkshire. It is not surprising that we should find this fragment of an ancient myth in the Celtic country; for the Celts are said to have been conquered by Hercules, when they endeavoured to recover from him the cattle of Geryon. — *Antonin. Liberal. Metamorph.* Cedrenus reports that he first taught philosophy in the western parts; and an altar inscribed to him was found at Alston Moor, in which he is represented attacking the serpent that guarded the Hesperides and the golden apples.

[3] Possibly in connection with this subject, we may find the interpretation of a device upon an altar of Isis; on which one of the faces shows a bell-shaped vessel, which Montfauçon (vol. xii. pl. 11.) calls un Muid: the lid is conical, and round it a serpent is twined;

Vallancey mentions an island nine miles from Sligo, called the Innis Muidr, where the Muidr is a conical pillar of stone placed on a pedestal, and surrounded by a wall in which several small cells are covered with earth, to resemble a cave.[1] It has been held sacred from the times of Paganism to the present day; and many devotees flock from the Continent to do penance in these cells. The term may have been applied at a very early period to a burning mountain: for since, according to Buffon[2], most of the Indian islands, and all the seas of those eastern regions, present to our eyes nothing but peaks and detached summits, which vomit out fire, the striking appearance of those peaks glowing in the dark, would soon absorb all attention; and if those volcanic agencies were supposed to have had any material connection with the deluge, it was natural for the superstitious observers to mingle together the worship of both elements. Maithri in Arabic is the name of a mountain, and Mederon is another; both from the Chaldee Madar[3], which signifies to form a declivity. It is true, that Mudros was among the Greeks a description of the sun, though Athenaxagoras was

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on the lower portion a crescent contains ears of corn. A dog-headed priest occupies a second face, and Harpocrates, or silence, with a serpent in a horn, another.

[1] Vindication of Ir. Hist. iv. 211., and on the Ancient Irish, Introd. p. 20.

[2] Nat. Hist. x. 190.

[3] מָדָר, gleba terræ; מַדְרוֹן, locus declivis. הַמַּדִּיר from מדר, declivem fecit. — *Castelli Lexic.* Pliny says that Mitras, who reigned in the city of the Sun, was the first who caused obelisks to be erected. — *Nat. Hist.* 36. c. 8. *Vallanc.* p. 214.

judged guilty of impiety for saying so; and that further in the East, it was converted into Mithras, which was his acknowledged title. But perhaps a better etymology, if that which has been already suggested be not satisfactory, may be found for that title in the Chaldee Midrash [1], which signifies an allegory; for certainly much that the ancients have handed down to us concerning him, contains a hidden and mysterious meaning: for, 1. He was said to be born from a rock [2]; a statement which is utterly absurd, if it be referred to the sun, but is sufficiently intelligible, if the Mithratic cave be taken for a representative of the Ark. 2. He triplicated himself [3]; which may possibly be one of those fragments of an early revelation relating to the Trinity, which sometimes sparkle in the mire of mythology. Otherwise, since it is plain that it has nothing to do with the sun, it must be interpreted in the same way as the triplicity of Dionusus. Faber thinks, that he is said to have triplicated himself, because the patriarch was the father of three sons [4]: and perhaps this is the best explanation; for 3rdly, the same triplicity being ascribed to Oromazes, and the same substance too (for both consisted of pure light), the actions of the one must be the actions of the other; and Plutarch must be mistaken [5], when, contrary to all

[1] מִדְרָשׁ, Allegoria. — *Vallanc.* p. 214.

[2] Justin. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 168.

[3] Dionys. Areopag. Epist. 7.

[4] Origin of Pagan Idol. ii. 415.

[5] Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir. c. 47. Der dem guten Ormuzd so nahe verwandte Mithras. — *Baur. Manichaische, Religions-system,* p. 91.

the principles of the Oriental philosophy, he supposes Mithras to be a third and intermediate being, between Arimanias and Oromazes. Both therefore represent the good genius, who shut up the gods in an egg, or, to speak more plainly, who inclosed the deified men in the Ark; and in the Zendavesta, Ahriman is acknowledged to be the serpent, or evil genius, who was the cause of the deluge.[1] The production of a similar enormous egg is ascribed by Orpheus to a certain deity called both Hercules and Chronus (Saturn), who made his appearance out of the aboriginal waters, surrounded by a lion-headed serpent.[2] Now the image of Mithras in Persia had the head of a lion; and the initiated were not only called lions, but amongst the Sebazii, who were a Mithratic sect, a serpent was passed over their persons, as I have already shown.[3] It was Mithras therefore, who fabricated the huge egg, the asylum of the gods, which floated upon the primæval waters: for his alliance with Hercules has been already shown, and from other sources we know that he was considered to

[1] Faber's Pagan Idolatry, ii. 60.

[2] Ἦν δὲ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος Ἰλὺς κατέστη, ἐκ δὲ ἑκατέρων ἐγεννήθη ζῶον δράκων, προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος, διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ὄνομα Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Χρόνος· οὗτος ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμέγεθες ᾠόν. — *Athenagor. Legatio pro Christ.* c. 18.

[3] Lactantius in Statii Thebaid. apud fin. In a subterranean temple on the north side of the Capitol at Rome, the triplicated Mithras is exhibited; for on each side of the principal figure stand two others with a star over their heads to signify their divinity. The bull has inscribed upon his neck, Nama Sebesio. — *Gruter's Inscriptions,* i. 34.

be Cronus as well as Muthros.[1] 4thly, Mithras, like Siva, had a bull for his vehicle; and the reason assigned by Porphyry is, that he was the lord of production[2]: and hence he is very naturally identified with Apis, the father of mankind, and other Arkite personages, such as Serapis and Osiris.[3] But his position with respect to the Sacred Bull has subjected him to some awkward imputations: he has been called a cattle-stealer, like Hercules[4]; and much the same view of him seems to have been taken by Statius, when he describes him twisting the horns of a bull, indignant at being forced to follow under the rocks of the Persean cave.[5] Persean and Mithratic are here used as synonymous, and not without reason; for Perseus, too, was inclosed in an ark[6], and exposed upon the waters in his infancy. He was the son of the Arkite Danae[7]; but his conquest of the sea monster marks the

[1] Εἴ κρόνος, εἴ Φαέθων πολυώνυμος, εἴ τε σὺ μυθρὸς. — *Nonnus in Dionys. Kircher de Instit. Hierog.* lib. ii.

[2] Ἐπωχεῖτο ταύρῳ ἀφροδίτης· ὡς καὶ ὁ ταῦρος, δημιουργὸς ὢν ὁ Μίθρας καὶ γενέσεως δεσπότης. — *De Antro Nymph.* c. 24.

[3] By Nonnus and Statius.

[4] Boum fur. — *Martin, Explications de Divers Monumens Singuliers,* p. 220. Virum abactorem boum colentes sacra ejus ad ignis transferunt potestatem: hunc Mithram dicunt. — *Julius Firmicus de Errore Profanarum Religionum,* c. 5.

[5] Persei sub rupibus antri
Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.
Theb. lib. i. 718.

[6] The Scholiast on Lycophron, v. 838. says, ἐν λάρνακι: the Chronicon Paschale, p. 38. ἐν κιβωτῷ. This is the term used by the Seventy for the ark of Noah.

[7] It is remarkable, that the reason which Euripides puts into the mouth of Acrisius for giving his daughter the name of Danae is, that he had waited so long a time for offspring; this looks as if the man of the ship, Danaus, had long been considered synonymous with Chronus, or Time. — *Eur. Dan.* 20.

period when he apostatised: and a similar defection is intimated in the ordinary representation of Mithras slaying a bull; but in what sense the same animal was originally his vehicle, may be learned from a very curious Roman marble, the drawing of which was published by Gronovius in his Latin edition of Agostini. There Mithras appears in the front of his cave, with one foot on the body, and the other between the horns of a bull, that is to say, in his Bari. In the distance on the right, the sun appears rising by the side of a conical mountain, and on the left, the moon is disappearing; for the long, long night was over, when he issued from the Ark. Two cypresses on the horizon betoken the past period of gloom and death; below there is a lion's head, and a cock the harbinger of day; and lower still, two palm trees, beginning to throw out their leaves, the emblems of a resurrection from the state of death, in which the earth was involved, which have occasioned the fable of the Phœnix rising from its own ashes. Nearer in front, the raven of the ark makes its appearance, and the Scorpion, which, as I have shown, was one of its symbols. In advance of the cavern on the right, a man holds up a lighted torch; for light returned, when the Ark was opened: and the suspension of that blessing is signified by another figure behind, sitting in a pensive posture, with his torch reversed, and touching the ground. A serpent forms a waving line under the bull, just as it was used by the Egyptians to represent water. The only other figures are a dog, that is, a priest, and an eagle on

a palm tree, holding the thunder, which Montfaucon unaccountably mistakes for a crow.[1] It is certain, that the eagle was supposed to have some close connection with the deluge; for the Nile was called an eagle[2]; and on an ancient altar at Etlingen, but since removed to Wittenburg, Neptune is represented holding a dolphin with an eagle's head, and a tail ending in leaves[3], to show that at the conclusion of the deluge vegetation returned.

The eagle employed to torment Prometheus[4], who first brought fire from heaven, or, in other words, introduced the worship of it, was the offspring, not of any bird, but of two diluvian serpents, Typhon and Echidna. He was afterwards shot by Hercules.[5] Most authors agree in referring Prometheus to the first age after the deluge. Vossius even takes him to be Noah, because he is said to have formed men out of mud[6]: but the principal facts recorded of him suit better with a son or grandson of the patriarch; and accordingly Hesiod makes him the son of Japetus, or Japheth; and Cassian affirms, that, according to ancient traditions, he was Ham: at least, to him he attributes the first erection of fire-towers, that is, the first introduction of fire-worship. And that being the case, it matters not whether it be under the

[1] Montfaucon, vol. xi. pl. 82. p. 227.

[2] Διὰ τὸ γενόμενον ἔκρηγμα φασὶν ἀετὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. — *Diodor. Sic.* lib. i. p. 11.

[3] Gruter. Inscript. i. 62.

[4] Hesiod. Theog. 523.

[5] Pherecydes, lib. ii.

[6] Patriarcha Noe non in solo nobis adumbratur Saturno, sed etiam Prometheo, cujus festum Athenis Προμηθεια dictum. — *Voss. de Idololat.* p. 141.

appellation of Zoroaster[1], or Prometheus; for the fact is of much more importance than the name. At whatever period however the scene be laid, the story amounts to this: certain persons, who are designated by the name of Prometheus; attempted to introduce the worship of fire; for which they were punished and kept in confinement by the Arkites, then in power, and continued in that state till the priests of Hercules obtained the ascendancy. It was clearly an apostacy on their part; for the person whom they served had been at first the god of the ocean. The Magusan Hercules is still to be seen with a dolphin[2] under his arm, and a long double-pronged fork in his hand, and a sea-monster crawling at his feet, as he reclines upon the sea-shore.[3] It is in fact very much the same design as that on an altar of Neptune at Interamna in Umbria, where he stands between two dolphins, with a trident in one hand and a fish in the other.[4] In the family of Minos (that is to say, of a kung who assumed

[1] To Zoroaster are usually attributed the fire-towers, who was quantum antiquæ traditiones ferunt, Cham, filius Noæ.— *Cassianus*, c. 21. *Collect. de Reb. Hibern.* iv. 191. Zoroaster, too, was the first who consecrated a natural cave, where there was water, πηγὰς ἔχον, to Mithras. — *Porph. de Ant. Nymph.* c. 6. The variety of opinions with respect to the age in which he lived is thus stated by Burton, in a note to his Bampton Lectures: Plutarch places him 5000 years before the Trojan war; Suidas, 500; Eudoxus and Aristotle, 6000 before the death of Plato; Pliny, many thousand years before Moses; Xanthus of Lydia in Diogenes Laertius, 600 before the expedition of Xerxes, p. 277.

[2] If Delphyne be another form of the Greek Delphin, the Dolphin, its use, as an Arkite emblem, is thus accounted for by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius. Τό ὄνομα ἐστι τοῦ δράκοντος.

[3] Il y a apparence qu' Hercule posé ainsi sur le bord de la mer passoit pour une espèce de divinité marine. — *Montfaucon* xi. 143.

[4] Gruter: Inscript. i. 62.

that name, after his great ancestor) symptoms of a similar defection may be detected; but it was not of long continuance; for the native Cretans were not of Greek extraction, but Barbari.[1] They were very much attached to their own Arkite rites, for which the island was eminent: and when a colony of them settled in Asia Minor, they revolted from the worship, which the priests of that country attempted to impose upon them, and assembling tumultuously together they rushed to the neighbouring mountains; exclaiming, that they would have nothing to do with strange gods.[2] When therefore Minos and his brother Sarpedon quarrelled about the succession to the throne, the former secured the popular favour by proving, that the god of ocean was on his side. He prayed that a bull might appear from the depths of the sea[3]; and his prayer was granted. It is possible, that a bull might secretly be carried out to sea, and compelled to swim back to the shore; in which case the favorite emblem of the horns would be seen almost alone, travelling as it were upon the surface of the water. But it may be, that the depths, of which the historian speaks, were intended in a mystical sense. It may be, that by the connivance of the priests, the Sacred Bull issued at his call from the

1 Τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι. — *Herod.* lib. i. c. 173.

2 Ἱδρυνθέντων δὲ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὡς σφι ἀπέδοξε (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι) ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἠβηδὸν τύπτοντες δούρασι τὸν ἤερα, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν ἔποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς. — *Herod.* l. i. c. 172. In this passage the true reading may be Ἴερια, instead of ἤερα. They chased away the innovating priest.

3 Ἀναφανῆναι ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν. — *Apollodor.* lib. iii. p. 88.

recesses of his sanctuary. His scheme, however, succeeded. Sarpedon, the head of the opposite faction, was obliged to quit the country; and perhaps carried with him to Lycia those Caurians who afterwards returned to their own form of worship. He himself derived some advantage from his apostacy; for Apollo sent him back to Lycia, when he had been mortally wounded by Patroclus on the plains of Troy.[1] The wife too of Minos was of this party; for she was the daughter of Helius and Perseis; that is to say, of fire-worshippers. The story of her adultery with Taurus, as I have already intimated, is not a tale of conjugal infidelity: it was a spiritual adultery, like that with which the true God frequently reproached his people. She was, "as a wife which committeth adultery, which taketh strangers instead of her husband."[2] Taking advantage of some disrespect offered by Minos to those who had the charge of the Sacred Bull, at which Neptune is said to have been offended, she secured them in her interest; and the labyrinth was a temple, constructed by Dædalus under her direction, in which the Bull of Minos (the Minotaur) was thenceforward kept, probably in honour of the moon, till it was destroyed by Theseus. Yet, even there, the fire-worshippers clandestinely maintained their rites, by contriving to persuade

Αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ βελέων Σαρπηδόνα δῖον ἀείρας,
Πολλὸν ἄπο προφέρων, λοῦσεν ποταμοῖο ῥοῇσι,
Χρῖσέν τ' ἀμβροσίῃ, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἕσσε.
Πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι,
Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν. οἳ ῥά μιν ὦκα
Κάθεσαν ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πιόνι δήμῳ. — *Hom. Il.* II. 578.

[2] Ezek. xvi. 32.

the Cretans, that it was not lawful for either gods or mortals to pass by a sacred cave [1], from which, at a certain time of the year, a copious light shone forth. And so Hanway describes the holy flame, preserved at Baku in low ancient temples built of stone, and arched over; in short, imitative caves: and they might all, like that at Crete, be called the birth-place of Jupiter; because they represented the Ark, from which Noah was born again. For which reason, lastly, Mithras caused his disciples, when they were initiated, to be baptised [2], and to swim for many days through much water.[3] When therefore Eubulus said, that he was the father and producer of all things, he was partly right. He was indeed the father of mankind; though he should not on that account have been worshipped as God. At least, however, it is certain, that Eubulus did not confound him with the Sun, of which he affirmed him to be the Creator. Even Perseis, the wife of Helius, was an Oceanic lady.[4]

It has been now shown, that Mithras was very fit to be a coadjutor of Hercules in his attack upon the Geryon, or oracle of Erytheia: indeed, there is reason to believe that they were very nearly related; for the parents of Hercules, or the person who assumed his name, were both grandchildren of Perseus [5], or the Persian, who

[1] Ἔστιν ὅσιον οὐδένα παρελθεῖν οὔτε θεὸν οὔτε θνητόν.

[2] Tertullian de Præscript. Hæret. c. 40.

[3] Πρῶτον διανήξασθαι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὕδωρ πολύ. — *Nonnus*, in *Nazianzen. Steliteutic.* p. 2.

[4] Ὠκεανίνη. — *Hes.* Shield of Herc. p. 956. *Boeus apud Antonin. Liberal. Metamorph.*

[5] Alcmena was the daughter of Electryo, the son of Perseus.

introduced the worship of fire from the East; for I have shown what reason there is to believe that, in Adherbidgian [1], a province of Persia, on the borders of Armenia, the first fire-towers, or Pyreia, were constructed; and, as D'Herbelot remarks, always upon mountains.[2] For Zoroaster, and all his followers, could not eradicate from that country all traces of their original religion; and accordingly one of these mountains, at the foot of which Teheran the capital is situated, is denominated Elboorz [3]; which is evidently no other than the old name of Ararat in Armenia, Baris. And not far from it, mounds of earth mark the site of Rhe; which, in Hibernian Celtic, signified the Moon, the Rhea of the ancients, who was the daughter, or production of the firstborn, and was carried by Bulls over the mountains, and exulted in the horrid howlings of perishing men [4]; and yet was the fountain from which all animated nature flowed, the mother of gods and mortals, who poured over the universe the progeny which she had received into

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Amphitryon was the son of Alcæus, the son of Perseus. — *Natal. Com. Mythol.* lib. iv. *Eurip.*, in *Herc. Furens.*

[1] Or Aderbeitsan.

[2] The Persians chose the tops of the highest hills for their places of worship. — *Herod.* l. i., Strabo observes, they had neither images nor altars, but worshipped on some high place. — *Geog.* l. 15. Cyrus, on the approach of death, sacrificed on the summit of a mountain. — *Xenoph.* lib. viii. So also in Pontus and Cappadocia. — *Appian. Bell. Myth.* p. 366.

[3] Sketches in Persia, by Sir J. Malcolm, p. 107.

Πότνα Ῥέα Θύγατερ πολυμόρφου Πρωτογόνοιο
Ἦτ' ἐπὶ ταυροφόρον ιέρότροχον ἅμμα τιταίνεις
Οὔρεσιν, ἢ χαίρεις θνητῶν τ' ὀλολύγμασι φρικτοῖς
Μήτηρ μέν τε θεῶν ἠδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Orph. Hymn. p. 13.

her ineffable womb.[1] There can be no mistake in asserting, that this is a description of the Ark; and the mounds are perhaps not heaps of ruins, but tumuli belonging to the Arkites: for other monuments of the same character, and in this country called Druidical, are found there. Sir John Chardin says, that the road from Tauris leads by several circles of large stones, which the Persians affirm to be the places where the Caous, or Giants, held their councils.[2] Another mountain, in the same neighbourhood (Demavend), has the cave of a Deva, near the top. It may be thought, that in this cave the Sacred Fire was kept; but Keppel, who travelled in the East, is of a different opinion: according to his account, the fire there was Naphtha, burning in the open air[3]; for there is abundance of Naphtha in the district near the Caspian sea: but the cells were occupied by Devotees. On the tumuli in Derbyshire, called Lows, the fire was certainly external; for that fires were lighted on them, by a degeneracy similar to that which prevailed in Persia, in Scotland, and in Ireland, their etymology leaves no room to doubt: for though the Anglo-Saxon hlap, means only a hill, or tumulus, yet in Danish Lowe signifies a flame: and Hearne bears witness, that in low Scotch it signifies both a hill and a flame.[4] The latter, however, is evidently

1 Ῥείη τοι νοερῶν μακάρων πηγή τε, ῥοή τε,
Πάντων γὰρ πρώτη δυνάμει κόλποισιν ἀφράστοις
Δεξαμένη γενεὴν ἐπὶ πᾶν προχέει τροχάουσαν.
Fragm. Orph. p. 395.

2 Travels in Persia. — *Harris's Collection*, ii. 871.

3 Keppel's Travels from India, ii. 216—219.

4 A Chronicle cited by him speaks of a Logge raised by the Danes.

the secondary and subordinate sense, occasioned by the kindling of the fire upon the hill. The word itself is the same as the Greek lophus; for they are monuments commonly placed on high ground, and many of them upon the very brow or summit of hills. Among them there are some, which bear very strong evidence of their original destination. The Arbe-lows are two tumuli, near a circular temple, each having a great hollow in the middle, in the form of a basin, which implies that purification by water was the notion most predominant in their construction. But there is one still more remarkable, at the distance of five miles. Barlow high Bar, or the Bari, on the hill of the Baris, is now called the Eagle stone. Mr. Pegge says, that it is undoubtedly a rock idol; and he thinks it is probably a corruption from some British word, of like sound; perhaps hyglod, famous: but it has been already shown, that the eagle was mythologically connected with the deluge; and accordingly on the top of this stone there are two rock basins. It is one of the many instances perpetually occurring, in which the Arkite eminences were seized by the schismatics, and appropriated to their own use.

But if Apollo was an usurper in taking to himself the epithet of Grynian, he is not free from the same imputation, for assuming the title of Titan; for the Titans are declared, in the Orphic Hymns, to be the

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The Lows are generally round, and from 60 yards in circumference at the base, down to 4 or 5. *Archæologia*, vii. 134.

progenitors of our race[1]; the sources and origin of all mortals[2]: and therefore, the eldest Titan is considered the son of Heaven and Earth; not only because he was the first of the Postdiluvians, but because he dates his second life from the period when the elements were mingled together, and the clouds of heaven embraced the whole globe. The same writer makes him synonymous with Saturn, the husband of Rhea, and parent of the present age.[3] Accordingly, they took his part in the war, which his unnatural children waged against him. In Hesiod's description of this war, he himself is not conspicuously brought forward; but they are stated to be his friends[4]; and it is very distinctly affirmed, that it was a contest for divine honours.[5] It continued a long time without any decided advantage on either side, till Jupiter bethought him of bribing some of the opposite party, and so gaining their assistance. He invited them from those places of figurative confinement[6], their dark subterranean sanctuaries; and promised them all sorts of rewards, and especially the continuance of the same divine honours for their temples, which

1 Ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων.

2 Ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαὶ πάντων θνητῶν πολομόχθων. — *Orph. Hym.* 36.

3 Ἄλκιμε Τιτὰν —
Αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ — Ῥέας πόσι, σεμνὲ Προμηθεῦ.
Ibid. 12.

4 Τιτῆνες δ' ὑποταρτάρεοι, Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐόντες. — *Theogon*, 852.

5 Τιτήνεσσι δὲ τιμήων κρίναντο βίηφι. Ibid. 882.

6 Φαίνετε Τιτήνεσσιν ἐν δαὶ λυγρῇ
Μνησάμενοι φιλότητος ἐνηέος, ὅσσα παθόντες
Ἐς φάος ἀψ ἀφίκεσθε, δυσηλεγέως ἄπο δεσμοῦ,
Ἡμετέρας διὰ βουλὰς, ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος. Ibid. 650.

they had enjoyed before [1], if they would assist him against their brethren. To this compromise of principle they basely consented; but in the end reaped the reward, which their treachery deserved. For when, in consequence of their internal dissensions, the Arkites were driven from Thessaly to a place of darkness in the west [2], from which there was no egress, because Neptune had surrounded it with a wall, (that is to say, to an island,) their faithless brethren were sent after them, under the flimsy pretence of guarding the prisoners [3]: for the poet immediately adds, there dwell Gyges, and Cottus, and Briareus, the sentinels of Jupiter; and there are the fountains of the universe, and the remotest origin of all existing things, odious to the gods; and there is a vast chasm, which inspires the gods with dread; and there is the dark abode of night, covered with black clouds.[4] One of them certainly had no reason to congratulate himself on the fate reserved for him: for Mount Ætna was said to have been laid upon him [5], the flaming mountain,

1 Μή τιν' ἀπορήσειν γεράων, τιμὴν δὲ ἕκαστον
'Εξέμεν, ἣν το πάρος γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.—*Theogon.* 393.

2 Ἔνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι
Κεκρύφαται —

3 Τοῖς οὐκ ἐξιτόν ἐστι· πύλας δ' ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδᾶν
Χαλχείας, τεῖχος παράκειται δ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
Ἔνθα Γύγης Κόττος τε καὶ ὁ Βριάρεως μεγάθυμος
Ναίουσιν, φύλακες πιστοὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο. Ibid. 729.
Ἐνθάδε γῆς γνοφερῆς καὶ ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος.

4 Πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν
'Αργαλέ', εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ,
Χάσμα μέγα — δεινόν τε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
Τοῦτο τέρας — καὶ νυκτὸς ἠρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινὰ
Ἕστηκεν νεφέλης κεκαλυμμένα κυανέῃσι. Ibid. 729.

5 Callimachus in Lavacrum Dianæ.

in derision probably of the services that he rendered to the fire-worshippers; in consequence of which he was said to breathe out fire from his fifty mouths[1], in the same way as Hercules poured a flood of fire from his eyes.[2] But originally he had been a god of the ocean[3]; and Homer informs us, that he was called Briareus by the gods: in other words, it was his sacred and mystical name, and alluded to the hill of the Bari; but by men he was called Ægæon, which was the name of a promontory at the mouth of the Rhyndacus[4], where, doubtless, his temple stood: perhaps it was a common appellation of those Arkite promontories, in which the Ægean sea abounded. On one of these peninsulas the giants lived, who are said to have engaged in conflict with the gods; some at a place in it called Phlegra, and others at Pallene.[5] But Herodotus reconciles both accounts by stating, that Pallene was once called Phlegra.[6] Hence it may be inferred, that one, if not both, of those names had a mystical import.[7] Now Phlegra oc-

[1] Quinquaginta oribus ignem
Pectoribusque arsisse. *Virg. Æneid.* lib. x.

[2] Ion Chius apud Natal. Com. Mytholog. lib. vii.

[3] Αἰγαίων, ἐνάλιος θεὸς, ἢ Βριάρεως, καὶ ὁ Ποσειδών. — *Hesychius.*
Ἦν δὲ Θάλάσσιος δαίμων οὗτος. — *Scholiast.*, in *Hom.* i. 403.

Briario enim rem divinam Carystii faciunt, sicut Ægæoni Calchidenses; nam omnis ferme Eubœa Titanum fuit regnum. — *Sol. Polyhist.* c. 11.

[4] Apollon. lib. i. [5] Apollodorus de Orig. Deor. p. 32.

[6] Herod. lib. vii. c. 123.

[7] Pallene may be from Phal Ain, the fountain of the chief, and Phlegra may be either Pheleg Rhe, the river of the moon — (for in Psalm lxv. 10., the river of God is called Pheleg Elohim (פֶּלֶג) meaning the sea); or from Phalga Rhe, the middle of the moon. Nam Phagla Syris medium sonat. — *Bochart.* lib. ii. c. 14.

curs again in Italy, at Vesuvius, with a similar tradition attached to it. The giants lived there; for the whole of that region was originally Arkite: but the fire-worshippers thought they had a better right to the flaming mountain; and so Hercules came, and, with the assistance of the gods, destroyed them.[1] Hence Horace speaks very accurately, when he says, that the shining house of ancient Saturn trembled at the danger, when the sons of earth were vanquished by Hercules. Two of these priests are recorded by Natalis Comes; who however states, that they were the sons, that is, the votaries of Neptune[2]: he also at the same time, gained another conquest over the sea, by cutting off his communication with the lake of Avernus, where an oracle of the dead stood, and Proserpine had a temple; but the principal abode of the daughter of Ceres was in the west,—in the island to which the Titans were banished, where Styx, the eldest daughter of Ocean, lived in solitude, amidst tall rocks and columns.[3] The water of Styx was reputed to be peculiarly sacred, and was brought from a rock, for the conviction of gods who laboured under a suspicion of perjury. The punishment of the priest convicted by his dread of this sacred water was excommunication for ten years; and since it is evident, that Styx was the water of those rock basins, which abound in the British isles, the beds prepared for the excommunicated, in which they

1 Diod. Sic. lib. iv. p. 228. 2 Myth. l. vii.

3 Νόσφιν δὲ θεῶν κλυτὰ δώματα ναίει
Μακρῇσι πέτρῃσι κατηρεφέ', ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ
Κίοσιν ἀργυρέοισι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται. — *Hes. Theog.* 777.

were to lie unheard of, and secluded from the fresh air during their penance, must be Cromlechs, or sacred cells: for they were covered by a mound.[1] The weapons with which the Titans were defeated, were peculiarly appropriate in the hands of the Apostates: they were rocks, the rocks of Cromlechs, and Druidical circles; for since the Druids were often buried at the foot of their consecrated stones, it was no great extravagance of poetic licence to make those stones the instruments of their destruction.[2] But the weapon of the gods, of those against whom they were principally engaged, was fire: and in like manner, in another instance, the latest offspring of the earth, Typhoeus, who is manifestly the same as the Egyptian Typhon, the Deity of the Deluge, with a hundred serpent heads, who filled the universe with noise and confusion, and threatened it with destruction, was conquered, in spite of the stormy winds which he wielded, and sent to Tartarus, that is, to the western isles, by the fires of Jupiter.[3] So, too, in a bas-relief, on a Sarcophagus supposed to be Athenian[4], it is by the flames of his lightning, that

1 Κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος
Στρωποῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ κῶμα καλύπτει.
Hes. Theog. 777.

2 For the same reason Hercules, being hindered by the giants, Albion and Borgion, in his way to the Atlantic mountains, and being destitute of weapons to overcome them, is reported to have prayed to Jupiter for assistance; when an abundant shower of stones fell, and killed his opponents. These Atlantic mountains must have been in Britain; for the campus lapideus formed by the stones was in France: and one of the giants has the very significant name of Albion. Both indeed have the same meaning; for both Berg (Germ.), and Alb, or Alp, signify a Hill. — *Nat. Com. Myth.* l. vii.

3 Hesiod, Theog. 852. 4 Museum Clementinum, tom. iv.

Jupiter is represented demolishing the Arkite giants: — for the diluvian serpent equally enters into the composition of their bodies; only with this difference, that it forms their lower, instead of their upper, extremities, and that the number is reduced to two. In perfect conformity with the description of Claudian, they had human heads and bodies; but their lower extremities consisted of a double serpent:[1] Visconti, however, denies that they are Titans; but, without a shadow of reason: he affirms, that they are never represented either by writers or artists with serpents instead of legs[2]; and yet, in direct contradiction to this unqualified assertion, he is constrained to admit, that Ovid did take the giants for Titans, when he says, that their mother earth gave them a thousand hands, and serpents for legs.[3] Ovid, indeed, gives a very curious account of the quarrels which have been described. He says, that once on a time there was no reverence for seniority among the gods; that some plebeian deity would sometimes sit upon the throne of Saturn; that Neptune was jostled by a stranger, and Tethys, his Titan wife, was obliged to be content with the lowest place. But Shame, and Fear, and Honour, set all this to rights; and those worthies were held in honour in proportion to their dignity. Order being thus restored, it continued to be the rule of heaven for many years, till at last

1 Femorum quâ parte volutus
Duplex semiferis connectitur ilibus anguis.
Claud. Gigantomach. v. 80.

2 Mus. Clem. tom. iv. p. 16.

3 Mille manus illis dedit, et pro cruribus angues.
Fasti, lib. v. 37.

the oldest god (Saturn) was fated to be dethroned. Then the Titans waged war against Jupiter, and his crew, with mountains for their weapons; which, falling back before the lightning of Jupiter, crushed those who had employed them.[1] The same sort of conflict is described on the frieze of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, which is commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes.[2] But the scene is laid on earth; and hence it has been mistaken for the destruction of the Tyrrhene Pirates, by Bacchus, with his Fauns and Satyrs, as it is described by Ovid, and Homer, and Nonnus; but the story is not the same: there is no ship, nor any thing that intimates violence, or wrong, on the part of the unfortunate young men, who are bound, and beaten, and burned, and hewed in pieces. Some indeed make their escape, as Dolphins; and in the back-ground the sea is visible, and conical hills; and the whole relates to a defeat of the Arkite priests and worship.

One of the figures, says Stuart, which has been mistaken for a Hercules Œtæus, represents a pirate — he should have said, an Arkite — sitting on a rock by the sea-side; despair is in his face; his arms are bound behind him by a cord, which changing into a Serpent of enormous length, fastens on his shoulder; a Satyr is attacking him behind, with a lighted torch.[3] If Bacchus was really concerned in this persecution and butchery, he deserved to be torn in pieces by the Titans.[4] But the rest of the

1 Ov. Fasti, ver. xvii—xlii. 2 Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, i. 29.
3 Ibid. p. 34. 4 Hygin. Fab. c. clxvii. p. 100.

fable, nonsensical as it may appear, discloses a little glimpse of almost undiscernible truth, and shows what he was originally, before he yielded to the increasing degeneracy, which, like a rank growth of ivy, was smothering by degrees the oak of the Arkite religion. It is said that at first, he was the son of Proserpine, or Core—that is to say, the Caer, or oracle of the Flood; but when he fell a victim to the rage of the Titans, his heart was pounded, and mixed up in a potion, which was administered to Semele, who, becoming pregnant, gave birth to him amidst a blaze of fire. Such a fiction can serve no purpose, except to fix the identity of the person worshipped under the name of Bacchus, at different times. He may have been the subject of various forms of idolatry, and several persons may have assumed his name: but the object of all those religious observances, the prototype of all those ambitious appellations, was one of that family, to whose memory divine honours have been paid by most of their descendants; although, by degrees, the recollection of them was obliterated, and their honours were transferred to others: hence, Helius and Selene, or the sun and moon [1], were known to be Titans, as well as Oceanus [2], and Tethys [3]: and hence the Celtic bard calls the

[1] They say, that the sun and moon using not chariots, but ships, sail about for ever — *Plutarch*, iv. 495.

[2] Oceanus doubted at first whether he should take part with Cronus and his brethren against heaven, or not; but at last resolved to stay away. — *Fragments of Orpheus*, p. 375. His priests were timid, and shrunk from their duty; and so Neptune was numbered among the idol gods.

[3] Apollodor. de Origin Deor.

priest of Noë and Eseye, who was slain by Hengist, at the great stone fence of their common sanctuary [1], the child of Teithan: and hence the place, which the blind Œdipus unknowingly profaned by his presence — a place too sacred for him to enter—was dedicated both to Neptune, and to the fire-bearing god Titan Prometheus; and on it stood the temple of neither, but of the Eumenides, the daughters of Darkness.[2]

Kæmpfer gives a description of some religious usages in Japan, which is of great service for the illustration of this subject: one sect of the Sintoists, he says, suppose, that the soul of Amida, whom the Budsdoists adore as their saviour, dwelt, by transmigration, in the greatest of their gods, Ten Sio Dai Sin — the essence, as they call him, of Light and Sun — to whose temple every one ought to go on pilgrimage; if not as to the god and protector of the nation, at least as to its founder and first parent. His votaries go, in the first place, to the river Mijangawa, opposite to the temples, there to wash

[1] In the place where Morien merited the sacred fire, the sword of Hengist resounded on his head. —*Davies's Celtic Mythol.* p. 350. The translator thinks that Eseye in this passage is Isis, from Ess, a Ship; but he does not infer that Noë was a name preserved by tradition, but only that Aneurin having met with it in Christianity perceived that it was the same person, to whom his native mythology consecrated Stonehenge.

[2] Sophocles, Œdipus Coloneus, 40 and 55. The Scholiast adds, that there was a three-headed stone there, Λίθος τρικάρανος; an emblem, which had some connection with the worship of Isis; for one ancient design exhibits her supporting two tablets, in each of which two priests stand before an altar bearing a rude three-headed stone. ♆ If it were more carefully executed, it might easily be resolved into a crescent, with an upright stone standing in the middle, the image of the divinity. One of the priests has a human head on his shoulders; perhaps to mark his superiority; the others have the usual heads of animals. — *Montfaucon*, vol. xii. pl. 37.

and clean themselves: they then visit two temples, Geku and Naiku Mia. Mia means a temple; and not far from it, there is commonly a basin of stone, full of water. From the second temple they proceed further up to a neighbouring hill, situated not far from the coast, to a small cavern, called Awano Matta, the coast of Heaven. It was in this cavern the great Ten Sio Dai Sin hid himself, and thereby depriving the world, the sun, and the stars, of their light, showed that he alone is the lord and fountain of light, and the supreme of all the gods. From the top of this hill, a large island is seen at a distance, which, they say, arose out of the ocean in the times of Ten Sio Dai Sin.[1] The evidence of which we are in search lies here almost upon the surface; the language is so plain, that it scarcely needs any explanation: for, supposing it to be historically true that they had a king of that name, it is distinctly shown that he was the object of their worship, only inasmuch as the soul of Amida, the deliverer, was held to dwell in him by transmigration, only inasmuch as he personified the founder and first parent of the nation; and then, his rock basins, his sacred cave, and that, too, at the top of a mountain near the sea, the darkness in which the world was plunged when he entered it, and the island which arose out of the midst of the ocean in his days, are the most familiar features in the religion of the Arkites. Moreover, it is evident, that the sun was not worshipped from any natural admiration of that great luminary, but solely because he was

[1] Kæmpfer's History of Japan, pp. 213. 226. 231.

identified with the founder and father of the nation; and the religious rite most used in his worship was purification by water; for the fact that the world was so purified from the sins of its inhabitants was not forgotten, and even they, who changed the element into fire in their sacred rites, retained the notion of purification. Thus Aneurin speaks of the festival of May, in which the Celts celebrated the praise of the holy ones, in the presence of the purifying fire.[1] Now, the festival of May was, probably, the festival of the new year, which, many generations after the flood, would naturally date from the first opening of the Ark, and the first revival of nature from a state of death and destruction.

There was an old tradition, that Noah finished the Ark in the month of May[2]; and since he went into the Ark on the 17th day of the second month, and left it on the 27th of the second month in the following year, if the months were determined by the moon, as those of the Jews were afterwards, and consequently the lunar year contained 354 days, it follows that Noah remained in the Ark 365 days, or just a solar year. The whole narrative accordingly, to use the words of Schubert, has the appearance of belonging to a people, to whom the solar and the lunar year were already known, and both periods are included in the narrative, as in a

[1] Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 372.

[2] Georgii Cedreni Histor. Compendium. Hence, it came to pass that women avoided marriage in the month of May, and in that month the greatest of lustrations or purifications by water was performed. — *Plut.* iii. 165.

hieroglyphic. If then Ideler's computation be correct, and the new year in the time of Moses began about the first of April in the Julian Calendar, on the day of the vernal equinox[1], May was the second month, and consequently it was the month in which Noah left the Ark. It is nothing wonderful that we meet with the new year's festival in different months of the year, when we consider the great diversity of periods assigned to its commencement at different times, and in different countries; for instance, the Athenians began their year at the summer solstice[2]; the inhabitants of Asia Minor at the autumnal equinox; the Romans at the winter solstice; the Arabs and Damascenes at the vernal equinox. The Newrus[3], or new year, was one of the most sacred festivals of the Persians; but it was not till 1079 that Dochelaleddin Melek Schah fixed it to the day of the equinox: before that it must have wandered in the course of 1440 years through all the months. It was then eighteen

[1] Nur so viel ist gewiss, dass der Aehrenmonat zur Moses Zeit nichts vor den ersten Tagen des julianischen Aprils, auf die damals die Frühlingsnachgleiche traf, angefangen haben könne. — *Lehrbuch der Chronologie von Dr. Ludwig Ideler*, p. 204.

[2] Simplic. Comment. in Phys. Arist. lib. v. p. 205. Before January and February were added by Numa, the Romans had only ten months in the year; the Acarnanians had six; the Arcadians four; and some barbarous nations only three: the Egyptian year at first consisted of only one month, and afterwards of four.—*Plutarch's Life of Numa.*

[3] Rus means day, consequently Newrus must be the new day. It is remarkable that their other great festival, that of Mithras, which, as we have seen, related to the same occurrence, was celebrated in autumn, as if they were determined to make sure by not letting either of the equinoxes slip through their hands; for so, tradition says, that the ancient year of the Arabs began in the autumn. — *Ideler*, pp. 473. 497.

days before the equinox. Even among neighbouring and kindred tribes the same difference is observable[1]; for the Athenians, as I have stated, began their year at the summer solstice, the Bœotians at the winter solstice, and the Lacedæmonians at the autumnal equinox. The nations of Europe in the middle ages had a great variety of dates for the commencement of the year. In England, for instance, till the 13th century, the civil year began on the 25th of December, and afterwards on the 25th of March; the liturgical year on the first Sunday in Advent: but still the first of January was observed as the popular feast day, on which the old custom was observed of exchanging presents and good wishes.[2] It is evident, therefore, that the popular observance of the new year has no necessary connection with the New Year's Day of the calendar; and nothing can more strongly prove the retentive force of religious usages, even when the motive is forgotten, than the permanence of the May festival in this country, which was first celebrated by the purifying fire of the Celtic magi; then by the circular dance round the Maypole, which, like the club of Hercules, was an emblem of the central Mount; and lastly in our own days by the Corybantic music of the little chimney-sweepers. In the Indian notion of purification both fire and water were combined; and hence we

[1] That the Hindu year has had different beginnings is evinced by the practice of the Chinese, and Siamese, who had their astronomy from India, and still begin their years either from the sun's departure from the winter solstice, or from the preceding new moon. — *Davies in Asiat. Res.* iii. 394.

[2] Ideler's Lehrbuch der Chron. p. 404.

hear of a stone temple in the middle of a tank in Cashmeer, where devotees surround themselves with fire, till they are consumed, and think they are thereby pleasing the Deity; and at Nagama there is a sacred stream, on the borders of which many fanatics consume themselves with fire[1]: but the parallel between the two elements may be extended further. Fire and water were not only viewed alike as instruments of purification, but as instruments of destruction too; a point of view so diametrically opposite to that which we have been considering, that it has occasioned an apparent contradiction in the history of the giants; and we behold them under an aspect as different as that of a person who looks at the reflection of his own face on the back of a bright silver spoon, first in one direction, and then in another; in one position shortened, and prodigiously dilated; in the other thin and lengthened; yet it is the same face which he views: and so the giants who under one aspect were of the party who conquered the deluge by surviving it, under another are the gigantic powers of the deluge itself; and on this principle the triumph over them was commemorated by the Romans at the beginning of the year in the festival of Victory[2]: and for the same reason the giants Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of Neptune[3], are said to have imprisoned Ares in a brazen cage during

[1] Gladwin's Translation of the Ayeen Akbery, ii. 133.

[2] Fête de la Victoire. Lorsque l'année commençoit, on venoit de célébrer la victoire remportée sur les Géans. — *Hist. du Calendrier, par M. Court de Gebelin*, p. 227.

[3] Discours Préliminaire, p. 149. by the same author.

thirteen (lunar) months[1]; for Ares is only an Hellenic version of the Hebrew Arets, the earth. On the other hand the Hindoos, whose fictions are usually more extravagant than those of the West, represent the punishment of the sinful world at the æra of the deluge to have been effected by fire instead of water. They say, that the genius of the planet, which they call Sani, that is, Saturn, was born in Arkisthan, the country of the Ark; and it was during his government that his pious subjects fled to the hilly countries bordering on the river Nanda, while the irreligious and rash perished in the deserts of burning sand, to which the eyes of the tyrant sun reduced all the plains, on which he looked.[2] Meantime his brother was performing his devotions on Trisringa, or the mountain with three peaks. In this account there is an evident mixture of some persecution of the Arkites grafted upon the facts which formed the foundation of their system; the preservation of some pious persons upon the diluvian mount. Nanda is used for the Nile, and is the name of Siva's bull; just as Neptune, the god of ocean, is called by Hesiod Taurine: and it may be reasonably conjectured that Sani's name may be connected with the Ark through the medium of the Hebrew Sana: for the city Debir, which has the additional name of Kirjath Sana, or the city of Sana in the book of Joshua[3], is said by the Chaldee Paraphrast upon the book of Judges[4]

[1] Hom. Iliad. lib. v. 385. Or it may be אֲרִי, Ari, the diluvian Lion, from Aron the Ark.

[2] From the Uttara Charitra. — *Asiat. Res.* iii. 154.

[3] Joshua, xv. 49.

[4] Judges, i. 11.

to be synonymous with Kirjath Arche.[1] Seneh is the name of one of the sharp rocks that stood in the passage of Michmash.[2] In the Greek of the Seventy it is Senna[3], and it is derived from a word which signifies a sharp rock.[4] It has been already shown that Shang in Chinese signifies a mountain, and that the Indian Sani with his trident and bow has been identified with Menu and Noah, and may be recognised in Shony, the object of superstitious observance among the Irish Celts up to a very recent period.

[1] אָרְכִי, αρχη, princeps, Chald.
[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 4.
[3] סֶנֶה.
[4] שֵׁן, scopulus acutus.

CHAP. XVII.

SACRED ISLANDS. — ANCIENT NOTICES OF BRITAIN. — THE FORTUNATE ISLES, NOT THE AZORES, NOR THE CANARIES, NOR OASES, NOR BERGAZI, NOR IN LAKE TRITONIS, NOR PLATO'S ATLANTIS. — LEGENDS CONCERNING THE OGYGIAN ISLAND AND THE HESPERIDES EXPLAINED. — HESIOD'S TARTARUS THE BRITISH ISLES. — SATURN'S SACRED CELL. — BARIS IN BRITAIN. — PINDAR'S HYPERBOREAN SACRIFICE. — VISIT OF PERSEUS TO ATLAS.

THE learned and laborious antiquary, who first explored the early history of Ireland, maintains that the round towers of that country were constructed for the worship of fire by Magian colonies, who came from Persia, as well as the sacred cells at New Grange and other places. There may, doubtless, be sufficient ground for believing that they were sometimes so appropriated by the more recent usurpation of that sect; but it can never be admitted, that the worship of fire was their original destination in a country, which abounds so much with evidence of Arkite worship. The Celts were uniformly attached to these rites, and have left behind them the most durable monuments of that attachment, — towers, and pyramids, and pillars, and tumuli, and Cromlechs, and rocking-stones, and rock basins. The inquiry, therefore, into the nature and amount of the evidence which

they afford, necessarily comprises all the British islands; for their first inhabitants were all branches from the same Celtic stock; and since they were undoubtedly of Eastern origin, and their affinity to those nations who settled on the banks of the Indus, as well as on the shores of the Mediterranean and Baltic, has been unanswerably concluded from an accurate examination and analysis of those languages [1], it might be expected that some incidental notices of their early intercourse would be discoverable here and there in ancient writers fond of traditionary lore, although scarcely, perhaps, intelligible to their less informed contemporaries, and although the facts themselves would be in process of time totally forgotten or misunderstood. Accordingly, Mr. Wilford was assured by the Brahmins, that a great intercourse anciently subsisted between India and the countries in the West; and that the British Isles are described in the Puranas, one of them being called Breta-st'han, or the Place of Religious Duty [2]; but the general name was Tricatachel, or the Mountain with Three

[1] Thus, as in the Sanscrit language, words merely in sequence have an influence on each other in the change of terminations and sometimes of initial letters, which change is called Sandhi, or conjunction; so in the Celtic dialects permutations, in many respects analogous to those of Sandhi, are constant and indispensable in the formation of sentences: thus for yn pen, we read ym; for yn bara, ym mara. Colonel Vans Kennedy, therefore, has ventured a great deal too far, in his "Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe," when he ventured to contradict the assertion of Davis in the preface to his Dictionary: "Ausim affirmare linguam Britannicam (Celticam) tum vocibus, tum phrasibus et orationis contextu, tum literarum pronuntiatione manifestam cum orientalibus habere congruentiam et affinitatem," p. 85 — *Prichard on the Celtic Nations*, p. 21.

[2] As. Res. iii. 49.

Peaks, which were Suvarnacuta, Rajatacuta, and Ayacuta; for every island was deemed a fit representative of the insulated mountain, which first cheered the sight of the ark-preserved mariners; and the three peaks of the Indian Ararat were, therefore, readily transferred in imagination to all islands. This accounts for the triangular shape attributed to Leuce, the White Island, and to Rhodes: and hence, Delos was fabled to have been broken off from Sicily[1], because it was reputed to be Trinacria, or three-peaked, like Meru. If Bailly had paid sufficient attention to this constant association of ideas which prevailed during many generations after the Flood, he would never have asked such questions as these: "Ne trouvez-vous pas, Monsieur, quelque chose de singulier, dans cet amour des anciens pour les îles? Tout ce qu'il y a de sacré, de grand, et d'antique s'y est passé; pourquoi les habitans du continent ont-ils donné cet avantage aux îles sur le continent même?"[2] The answer is very obvious — they were sacred objects in the view of all those who looked back to the time, when the mountain-peaks, appearing like islands above the water, gave their forefathers the first assurance of approaching deliverance: hence the peaks of the mountain were also called in India, Dwipes, *i. e.* islands, or, at least, a country between two waters. One of them, Rajata dwip, is also called, and more commonly, the White Island (Suetadwip), and the Island of

[1] Lardner's Geography, in Cab. Encycl. p. 146.
[2] Lettres sur l'Atlantide, p. 361.

the Moon (Chandradwip). This name, however, is applied generally to all the sacred islands of the West, which reminds us that some of those islands are still called Mona, and Po-mona; and Albion, which is Aristotle's name for England[1], has been deduced from Al-fion, the White Island[2], and the same sense would be implied, if its etymology were from the Latin Albus.[3] Suvarnadwip, or the Golden Island, contains the gardens of the Hesperides, which are described in the Puranas; and it is said that, from the earliest periods, Suvarneya was considered the abode of the Pitris, or Progenitors; and there were two places where they might be consulted: the first was on the summit of the highest mountain in the island; the second is declared to be a narrow cave, in a small island in a lake, the waters of which were bitter. There was the entrance of the Dirgha, or long passage into the infernal regions, which is often mentioned in the Puranas. Now, when it is considered that Suvarneya may become Hybernia[4], by a change no greater than that which convertes Hule into Silva, and Hus into Sus, and that Ireland is called by ancient geographers the Sacred Island[5]; and

[1] De Mundo, c. 3. [2] Lardner's Geography.

[3] Some maintain that all mountains were called by the Celts Alps, or Albs, from Alp, or Alb, white. — *Univers. History*, vol. vi.

[4] Pomponius Mela calls it Juverna, which seems to be the connecting link between the two. Aristotle shortens it into Ierne; the first portion of which alone is preserved in our vernacular Ireland.

[5] Ast hinc duobus in sacram (sic insulam
Dixere prisci) solibus cursus rati est:
Hæc inter undas multa cæspitem jacet
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.
R. F. Avienus, Ora Maritima.

when it is further recollected that the Celts appropriated the highest mountains to their worship, and that the waters of Lough Dearg enclose the narrow cell of purgatory, it is impossible not to own that such a concurrence of circumstantial evidence to identify the two names, can neither be fortuitous, nor the effect of artifice; for even if the Brahmins were bent upon deception, there must have been some pre-existing materials on which they set themselves to work, without which they could not have approached so nearly to the truth; for the same reason, some confirmation of the same prevailing belief may be deduced from Lucian; although, at first sight, his evidence may seem wholly inadmissible, because he declares beforehand that there is not a word of truth in it. But the work, in which he introduces the Fortunate Isles, is intended to be a satire upon historians, and therefore there would be no point or sense in the fiction, unless it be considered as caricaturing received stories. He represents Hercules exploring the Atlantic Ocean[1], and visiting the land of Endymion, or the moon: he reaches an icy sea, and then arrives at a white island, in which a temple was dedicated to the Nereid Galatea; and at the Isles of the Blessed, where he was addressed in Greek, and near which was Ogygia, whither he carried letters from Ulysses to Calypso: from all which, thus much at least may be inferred, that one subject of his ridicule was the prevailing opinion that, far towards the north, but yet among the Fortunate

[1] Lucian. Hist. Vera.

Isles, and consequently under a temperate climate, there was one distinguished by the name of the White Island, in which the deities of the sea were adored; and another, the land of darkness, where Ulysses was supposed to have visited the spirits of the dead. Claudian seems to have adopted this opinion, when he speaks of a place surrounded by the ocean, on the furthest coast of Gaul, where Ulysses evoked the dead with libations of blood.[1] It is, in fact, no more than his own explanation, which was, perhaps, the common explanation of Homer's statement, that Ulysses went to the furthest part of the ocean, to the country of the Cimmerii, who are covered with perpetual darkness[2], which must have some mysterious meaning independent of their geographical position in the West; for it is stated that the sun never shines upon them, not even when he sets. Cimmerii may be derived from the Hebrew Cemarim, who, in our translation of the Bible, are called idolatrous priests.[3]

Josiah we are told "put away the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven." The Cemarim are here plainly dis-

1 Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia litus,
Oceani prætentus aquis, quo fertur Ulysses
Sanguine libato populum movisse silentûm.

2 Odyss. xi. 13. 3 כְּמָרִים. 2 Kings, xxiii. 5.

tinguished from the priests of Baal, from the Magians, and from the Sabians. Their only characteristic is, that they burned incense in high places. The same distinction is observed by Zephaniah, when he says, "I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place, and the name of the Chemarims with the priests; and them that worship the host of heaven upon the housetops; and them that worship, and that swear by the Lord, and that swear by Malcham."[1] Here the worshippers of Baal are placed in the same sort of antithesis to the Chemarims, as they who worship the host of heaven are to those who swear by the Lord, and who swear by Malcham. These last, it seems, had not abjured the Lord by setting up the sun, or any image in his place; they remembered the God who sent a deluge upon the earth; but they also swore by Malcham. They paid an equal worship to their ancient king, (for so Malcham is translated by the Seventy and, in the Arabic version,) Melech Ham, who, like the Phœnician Hercules, Melcarthus, and the Italian Melicerte, was deemed the commander of the ship. The resorts of their idolatry, therefore, would be the sacred cellæ in high places; and accordingly we have seen that the Cimmerii are reported to have had their abodes in subterraneous places, called Argillæ, that is to say, in miniatures of the Ark. Lardner[2] suggests another etymology, with which this habit of the Cimmerians equally well accords: they may take their name from the Arabic Camar,

1 Zephaniah, i. 4, 5.

2 Ephorus in Strabo, lib. v.

the moon: for Plutarch gives us some strange information with respect to the moon, which can only be unriddled by recollecting with what it was associated by the Arkites. He says, "there are cavities in the moon, the largest of which is termed the sacred recess of Hecate, where the spirits of the dead exact and suffer punishment for wrongs committed; and there are two of a smaller size, through which they pass: for they have two apertures, one towards heaven, called Elysium, the other towards the earth, which is called the place of Persephone; but not the Persephone of the lower regions, for she is only Core[1]," or Caer the Oracle. We have here two descriptions of sacred cells; one in which penances are performed, another for the rites of initiation. Those who pass through them successfully, enter into a state of blessedness; but those who fail return to earth, to the place of the oracle, which they left. And as these cells were often Cromlechs, or stones placed on purpose to form a cell, Kumra signifies in Arabic rocks, that have been moved from mountains into valleys.[2] And if, when Tacitus says that the Scythians called ships Cameræ, he gives us literally their expression, it admirably illustrates the connection between the Argillæ and the Ark.[3] In general they would be quite dark; from most

[1] Plut. de Facie quæ in Orbe Lunæ apparet, c. 29. — *Op. Mo.* vol. viii. Κόρη τε καὶ Περσεφόνη κέκληται, c. 27.

[2] Vallancey, Collect. de Reb. Hib. vol. iv.

[3] Vallancey says, that when the ancient Irish fitted out a marine expedition, the Commander was named Fo muir, or Arg. He thinks that Euripides meant Ireland by Argos, vol. iv. Preface.

at least of the natural caverns light would be excluded; and hence Cimmerian darkness became a proverb. It was a superstition, which laid strong hold upon popular credulity, of which we have some curious evidence in the accounts given by the Arabian navigators in the middle ages, that in the Atlantic they were generally forced back again by the deep darkness, which lowered over the West.[1] Vallancey was so much persuaded, that although Ulysses was a fictitious name implying the chieftain of a ship[2], yet his adventures are drawn from a real voyage to the British Isles, that he discovers Scylla and Charybdis in Ireland — Scylla in Scull, near Cape Clear, and Charybdis from Carb, a ship, and Deis, to impede. In the same neighbourhood Cean Tail is the land of the sorcerers, the Suire or Syrens, and the promontory of Cuirce, Kirk, or Circe, now called Cork Head. It is certain that travellers have looked in vain for a literal Scylla and Charybdis, in the Mediterranean. If they are not mere creatures of the imagination, they must have had a mystical sense: but whether they are to be transferred to the British Isles or not, the arrival of a Ulysses in Calidonia is testified by an inscription on an altar.[3] The name alone, therefore, might almost warrant the conclusion, that the Calidonia, to which Ulysses was sent as the land of

[1] Ibn El Vardi. Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, p. 11. — *Lardner's Geog.* p. 23.

[2] Ulysses, from Aoula, princeps, and Si, or Ess, navis, iv. 26. If this be so, Ulysses was the original name, and Odysseus is a corruption the Greeks.

[3] Ulyxem Calidoniæ appulsum manifestat ara Græcis literis scripta —Votum. — *Solinus*, p. 27.

spirits, for the purpose of consulting an oracle, must have been one of those called Khalidat by the Oriental writers, and which were so much regarded by the Greeks, that from them they began their reckoning of the longitude. Certain statues erected in them and pointing to the west are most absurdly attributed to Alexander the Great, because he is known in the East by the name of Dhou'lkaräin, the two-horned.[1] The statues were doubtless ship temples, which, being shaped like a crescent, had two horns; and if England was their site, the notion of their pointing to the west may have arisen from the belief, that Ogygia, the land of darkness, lay still farther in that direction[2]: Ireland was peculiarly the sacred island. Abul Fazel observes that on account of the mildness of the climate, the beauty of the flowers, the excellence of their fruits, and the delightful vendure of the soil, navigators named these islands Khalidat or Paradises, and Saadat, or Fortunate[3]: and it has been commonly taken for granted, that this and similar descriptions of the Western Isles are to be understood of the Azores; but it is an assumption, not only without sufficient ground, but contrary to evidence: for in the first place, the Fortunate Isles were only ten degrees

[1] Lardner's Hist. of Geography, p. 172.

[2] Plutarch. de Facie quæ in Orbe Lunæ apparet, sect. 26. He makes Ogygia distant from the continent 5000 stadia, which, if measured from the south coast of France to Ireland, is not far from the fact.

[3] Ayeen Akbery, ii. 321. The panegyric to Constantius by Eumenius in Zosimus calls Britain happiest of all countries; and it is the μακαρων νησος of Lycophron, according to Tzetzes.

distant from the shore[1] of the continent, which is not true of any part of the Azores; but with respect to Ireland, which lies between the fifth and tenth degrees west of the meridian of Greenwich, it is a tolerably accurate representation of the fact. In the next place, they were not discovered till the middle of the fifteenth century by Joshua Van der Berg of Bruges; and from his description and the best authenticated annals, it appears that they were entirely destitute, not only of inhabitants, but also of every description of animals, except hawks, crows, falcons, and migratory birds.[2] It is evident, therefore, that these desolate islands were either wholly unknown to the ancients, or at least wholly disregarded by them, and certainly could never have cut so conspicuous a figure in their mythology. Lastly, it is said, that in ancient times they were inhabited, but are now inundated; which is a statement, that, literally understood, would be as destitute of evidence as it is of truth. But let it be understood of certain islands intimately connected by commemorative rites with traditions of a general deluge, and then the facts and the sayings have a sufficient correspondence. The story of the inundation is manifestly the same as that of Plato[3];

[1] Plutarch makes the distance as much as 10,000 furlongs; but since Sertorius, after passing the straits, turned to the right along the Spanish shore, and there met with sailors returning from those islands, they could not be the Azores. — *Life of Sertorius.*

[2] History of the Azores, 1813, p. 29.

[3] Πρὸ τοῦ στόματος, ὃ καλεῖτε Ἡρακλέους στήλας. — *Timæus*, iii. 24. Both Buffon and Whitehurst thought that the Canaries, the Azores, and Teneriffe are only the summits of mountains belonging to some submerged Atlantis. The latter, however, includes Ireland: we may very well assent to this opinion, if the submersion be understood to have taken place at the deluge.

whose Atlantis was an immense island, larger than Asia and Africa together, close to the Straits of Gibraltar. The double import of the tale, as is often the case in myths, disturbs in some degree the unity of the picture. As it was a commemorative isle, it must have some locality; and it is of importance to the future progress of the argument to observe that it is placed at the mouth of the Straits. But the prototype was not to be lost sight of; and therefore an enormous magnitude was given it, and it is no wonder that it was larger than half the earth, when it signified in fact the whole globe. Accordingly, the writer, after giving the reins to his imagination for some time in describing the antediluvian world, towards the conclusion checks his fancy, and draws close to the language of truth: he says, that when the divine portion of their nature became feeble by its mixture with mortality, and human propensities obtained the mastery over them, they disgraced themselves, and became vile in the eyes of the clear-sighted, and being filled with ambition and injustice, gained credit only with those who could not see the true path to a life of happiness; which, being observed by Jupiter, the righteous ruler, he saw that it was necessary to inflict punishment on that wretchedly corrupted race, as a warning to others to live more soberly. Wherefore he assembled all the gods in their most honoured abode, in the centre of the world.[1] And here the narrative abruptly terminates; but another dialogue supplies the final

[1] Platon. Dial. Critias, iii. 121.

result of their deliberations. An inundation destroyed all the inhabitants, and the island, overwhelmed by the sea, disappeared.[1] This is a fragment of real history mixed up with a vague account of a real island, in which that deluge was commemorated. Its features are easily distinguished. It was the portion of Neptune, who had a temple there on a hill, in the middle of the island, and yet near the sea, which was admitted by a canal into three circular moats. It had a barbaric form[2]; probably because it was an imitation of the Baris: and it was fenced round with gold.[3] Now it is not to be supposed that all this is merely an idle fiction without an object: the author doubtless had in his mind some island, in the existence of which he himself believed, and of which he had received some vague accounts. But at the same time it is obvious that his delineation of it is not drawn from nature: he does not give us the measurements and the elevation, as it were, of an actual temple; but only sketches out to us an intimation of the sort of religion observed there, and then fills up his canvas with the colourings of poetry. He is not even solicitous to preserve any sort of historical consistency: for the island was not a flat and level plain, which some unusual commotion of the sea might easily inundate; but, on the contrary, lofty and precipitous towards the sea[4], and girt round

[1] Plat. Dial. Timæus, p. 25.

[2] Εἶδος δέ τι βαρβαρικὸν ἔχοντος. — *Critias. Op.* iii. 116.

[3] Περιβόλῳ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένον. Ibid.

[4] Σφόδρα ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἀπότομος ἐκ θαλάττης ὁ τόπος ἅπας. — *Critias*, iii. 118.

with mountains far exceeding any that now remain in number and magnitude, like the Ilavratta of the Hindoos encompassing the golden Meru. Moreover, whatever may be thought of the history of Atlantis, the history of Athens is pretty well known; and even Plato himself could scarcely believe, that at any period before the time of Solon, Athens was so strong and powerful as to rescue Europe from subjugation by these extraordinary people, who had extended their dominion not only over the other islands, but even to Egypt and Etruria.[1] Civil history rejects the tale as impossible and contrary to the known condition of the world; but it is quite consistent with the history of religious contention. The emissaries of the Arkites sent from an island beyond the Straits of Gibraltar may have struggled to revive their rites in the Mediterranean, and especially in those countries where it has been already shown, that they long maintained their ground, in Etruria and Egypt. For from another quarter we learn[2], that the Atlantians boasted, that among them the gods were born, and that the Titans were the progeny of their first rulers, Heaven and Earth, and that being jealous of their relative Helius, and fearing he would obtain the supreme power, they drowned him in Eridanus, and that his sister Selene, on hearing of his fate, threw herself from the top of the house, and died. But Helius comforted his mother in a vision by vowing vengeance against the Titans, and predicting his own exaltation into the sun, and Selene's to the

[1] In Timæo, iii. 25. [2] Diodor. Sic. lib. iii. p. 189.

moon, which till then had been called Mene. Any one who has weighed the evidence already adduced with respect to the Titans, and Eridanus, will see at once the drift of this story; and perhaps the tradition of a deluge is partly indebted for its preservation to an opinion among the party which eventually prevailed, that submersion was the appropriate retribution for their defeated adversaries.

But in order to ascertain the real country to which Plato points, it is further to be observed, that of all the Titans, the most illustrious were Atlas and Saturn. But the abode of Saturn was in the British Isles, where his slumbers were guarded by the apostate Briareus, who was charged not to let him escape [1]; therefore, they were also the Atlantis, the abode of Atlas. Again, Neptune is said to have lived in the Islands of the Blessed [2], in which point those islands coincide with that to which Atlas gave his name; therefore, those islands were the British Islands. It may possibly be objected, that Mount Atlas, if we are to look for a single hill of that name, distinct from the range of mountains which bears it, stands upon the coast of Africa, and is a lofty promontory projecting into the sea, near the Canary Islands, which therefore have a better claim to be considered the Fortunate Islands; but, in truth, they have no better claim than many other places, which, from some accidental advantages of situation,

[1] Ἐν ᾗ τὸν Κρόνον κατεῖρχθαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα — πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὀπαδοὺς καὶ θεράποντας. — *Plutarch. de Defectu Oraculorum*, sect. 18.

[2] Ἐν μακάρων ὤκησε νήσοις. — *Apollodor.* lib. iii.

have shared the same honour. In the time of Herodotus, the Oases, near Egypt, were called the Islands of the Blessed [1], and it is no wonder that they appeared such to travellers, who arrived there hungry, and thirsty, and weary, from the vast deserts which encompassed them. But there were other reasons, too, for that denomination: on a hill in the Oasis stands Siwa, which seems to have been a place sacred to the Indian god of the deluge, Siva, or, as he was called in Egypt, Sevek; for so the temple of Jupiter Ammon is called Kaimabaida, the house, or home, of Budha [2]; and a recent traveller informs us, that the condition of this country is little different from that near the sea, the same effects being produced by the lakes, brooks, and springs [3]; so that it was well adapted for Arkite rites. Proceeding further westward, we find the gardens of the Hesperides again at Bergazi, formerly Berenice, which is the locality assigned to them by Pliny.[4] Scylax described them as two stadia across each way, filled with thickly-planted fruit trees, and inaccessible on all sides. Captain Beechey saw several quarries sixty or seventy feet deep, some of which were partly or entirely filled with water, but none of them so large as Scylax mentions.[5] It is evident that to dignify these excavations, however fruitful, with the title

[1] Herod. lib. iii. sect. 26.

[2] And so in the temple of Osiris at Abydos M. Chevalier recognised the figures of Jaggrenot, Gonez (Ganesa), and Vichnou, just as they are represented in the temples of Hindostan. — *Savary's Lettres sur l'Egypte*, ii. 92.

[3] Scholz. Reise, p. 85.

[4] Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 5.

[5] Beechey's Travels in Africa, p. 330.

of the far-famed Western Isles, is much too high a compliment. Lucan, again, carries these gardens still further westward, to the Lake Tritonis in the lesser Syrtis.[1] In the lake there was an island, and in the island a temple, dedicated nominally to Venus, but, in fact, to the power of reproduction; but in all these instances, besides the insignificance of the places themselves, and their unworthiness of so much honour, there is one insuperable objection to their pretensions. The Hesperides were in the north of Europe. The eleventh labour of Hercules was to fetch the golden apples of Juno out of the Hesperides, from the Hyperborean people[2], in which expedition he passed by the Pyrenæan mountain, and the streams of Eridanus, which belong to the land of the Celts. It has been already shown, that every sacred river was an Eridanus; here, then, it must be the Garonne.[3] Apollodorus, too, expressly says, that the Hesperian apples were not in Libya, as some have imagined, but at the Atlas, among the Hyperboreans.[4] Now, if we inquire who these people were, Hecatæus and other Grecian antiquaries reply, that they inhabited an island in the ocean, that is, in the Atlantic, opposite to Gaul, and not less than Sicily; so far to the north, as to be beyond the quarter from which the wind Boreas blows, and yet remarkable for the

[1] Strabo, lib. ix. 209.

[2] Ἐξ ἐσπερίδων ἐκ τῶν ὑπερβορέων. — *Johann. Tzetz. Hist. Chil.* ii. 363.

[3] Priscian confirms this; he speaks of Celtica tellus Eridani fontis contingens rauca fluenta. — *Prisciani Periegesis*, p. 280. The Celtica tellus was the western part of France.

[4] Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄτλαντος ἐν ὑπερβόρεοις. — *Apollodor.* lib. ii.

temperateness of its climate and the productiveness of its soil. They used to maintain relations of peculiar amity with Athens and with Delos, both of which, it has been shown, were originally seats of the Arkite sect.[1] But subsequently, and perhaps for this very reason, they became priests of Apollo, and worshipped him with extraordinary devotion; and this is in exact accordance with Plutarch's report of transactions in Ireland, or, at least, in that Ogygian island which lay beyond Britain; for there, in later times, the votaries of the apostate Hercules mixed with the people of Saturn, and enforced upon them the usages of Greece, and persuaded them to subordinate Saturn, and to pay the first honours to Hercules.[2] When they had achieved this victory, the worshippers of the sun placed the captive image of Atlas within the temple of Phœbus[3]; Atlas being the image of the deity of the mountain partly immersed in water, for the swelling waves broke against his knees.[4] But the Atlantians never forgave the blow, and therefore were in the habit of cursing the sun, both when he rose and when he set.[5] Herodotus

[1] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 130.

[2] Plutarch. de Facie quæ in Orbe Lunæ apparet, sect. 26.

[3] In the same temple Vulcan had, præsagâ arte, represented the ship Argo. — *Val. Flac. Argon.* v. 424. Therefore the sacred ship existed there before the Argonautic expedition.

[4] stat ferreus Atlas
Oceano, genibusque tumens infringitur unda.
Valer. Flaccus. Argonaut. v. 411.

[5] Atlantes solem exsecrantur et dum oritur et dum occidit.
Pomponius Mela, lib. i. c. 8.

Apollodorus mentions, that, in sacrificing to Hercules, which may be supposed to have been a compulsory service, the inhabitants of the Hesperides were accustomed to curse him, lib. ii.

furnishes us with some indirect evidence, that the connection between the British Isles, and Athens, and Delos, was a community of religious usages. Minerva was the tutelary genius of Athens; but as her rites were imported from Egypt, it is there that we must look for their original character. Now, it has been already mentioned, that in the area consecrated to her at Sais great obelisks of stone were placed, like those, probably, which, in this country, we call Druidical; and in the circular tank, which was as large as that at Delos, or rather in the sanctuary which it contained, the mysteries were exhibited, which the daughters of Danaus taught to the Pelasgian women, and which, though rejected by the Dorians, were retained by the Arcadians, or Arkites. "The Pelasgi," says the historian[1], "formerly inhabited Samothrace; and those who have been initiated into the mysteries of the Cabiri, which the Samothracians received from the Pelasgi, know this to be true." They gave no names to their gods, for they had never heard of any; but, in process of time, they learned them from Egypt. Now Artemidorus affirms that Ceres and Proserpine were worshipped in an island near Britain, with the same rites as in Samothrace.[2] Those names, indeed, were as much unknown to them as to the ancient Pelasgi; but still it is plain that the mysteries practised there were the same as the Egyptians, and consequently the Athenians, practised in their worship

[1] Herod. lib. ii. sect. 51. Almost all the names of the gods came out of Egypt into Greece. Ibid.

[2] Univ. Hist. vol. vi.

of Minerva; the same which belonged equally to the tank at Sais, and to that at Delos. So much, then, and no more being known of their religious usages, it was taken for granted that the Dionysiac mysteries were equally observed; and Avienus scruples not to affirm that troops of women used to celebrate the Orgies of Bacchus, and the night was spent in sacred song.[1] To the songs of the Bacchanals, therefore, Euripides, perhaps, alludes, when he makes the Chorus wish that they were "on the fruitful shore of the chaunting nymphs, the Hesperides, where the ruler of the ocean allows no further progress through the dark waters to mariners; for to him is assigned that venerated boundary of the heaven, which Atlas sustains; and there ambrosial fountains flow along the couches of the divine abodes, whereby the bountiful consecrated ground yields more abundant felicity to the gods."[2] The fountains that flow along the sacred couches will best be understood when we come to consider the rock basins and contrivances to secure water at the

1 hic chorus ingens
Fœminei cœtus pulcri colit orgia Bacchi:
Producit noctem Ludus sacer.
R. F. Avien. Descriptio Orbis, p. 751.

2 Ἐσπερίδων δ' ἐπὶ μηλόσπορον ἀκτὰν
Ἀνύσαιμι τᾶν ἀοιδᾶν
Ἵν' ὁ Ποντομέδων
Πορφυρέας λίμνης
Ναύταις οὐκ ἔθ' ὁδὸν νέμει,
Σεμνὸν τέρμονα κυρῶν
Οὐρανοῦ, τὸν Ἄτλας ἔχει,
Κρῆναί τ' ἀμβρόσιαι χέονται
Ζηνὸς μελάθρων παρὰ κοίταις,
Ἵν' ὀλβιόδωρος αὔξει ζαθέα
Χθὼν εὐδαιμονίαν θεοῖς. — *Euripid. Hippolytus*, 750.

sanctuaries of the Druids; but it is plain that the Hesperides were, in the writer's opinion, the residence of Atlas, as well as of the gods, and situated far to the north, in the regions of darkness, which is in conformity with the notion of the Arabian geographers, who call the Atlantic north of England the Dark, or Pitchy Sea; and on this dark sea, according to the belief of the Greeks, it was impossible to sail; consequently, it was the boundary of navigation.

The most laborious of their geographers, Strabo, expressly asserts, that there was no sailing from Celtice to the north beyond Ireland (Ierne); and he abuses Pytheas as the greatest of liars for saying that Thule was six days' sail from Britain, when those who had seen the British Ierne knew nothing of Thule, but only mentioned some small islands lying round it. Pytheas must have learned by some accident the existence of Iceland; and Strabo adopting his description of the climate, but fully persuaded that no land was to be found beyond the British Isles, applied it to Ireland; whereby he was greatly misled with respect to its longitude and latitude.[1] He placed it to the north of Britain; but he is not the only example of such a mistake; and if even Tasso could fall into this error, Strabo may well be excused for not knowing better. The Italian poet says:

[1] He probably confounded it with Scotland, which the Arabian geographers speak of as an island in the vicinity of England, and Ireland is called Scotia by Isidore and Bede. But the points of the compass seem not to have been very accurately studied; for even the geographer Strabo explains ὑπὸ ζόφον of the north in Homer's Od. xx. 356., which Vödcker has shown means the west.

Sono gl'Inglesi sagittari, ed hanno
Gente con lor, ch'è piu vicina al polo:
Questi dall alte selve irsuti manda
La divisa del mondo ultima Irlanda.[1]

It is not indeed surprising that the ancients should have very incorrect notions of the geography of Ireland, when Sir Jonah Barrington assures us from his own knowledge, that at this day, in some parts of the continent, its existence is unknown.[2] Their ignorance, however, extended to the whole of the British Isles; and though Dio Cassius certainly exaggerates it, when he says that the Greeks and Romans knew not for certain so much as that there was any Britain at all, and those of later times made question whether it were an island or the main, yet there is doubtless much truth in the statement of Polybius, that old writers, with different opinions, reported much erroneously of the outermost ocean[3], and the British Isles, on account of the difficulty of obtaining accurate knowledge. It may easily be imagined that the reports of some accidental wanderers and the precarious intercourse of religious sympathy would not contribute much to the advancement of science; and very contradictory notions of the exact position of our islands were the inevitable consequence. Thus Strabo, supposing Ireland to be north of Britain, describes it much in the same way as those countries which M. Bailly unac-

1 Gierusal. Liberat. Cant. i. st. 44.

2 Memoirs of his own Life, ii. 134. Madan relates a similar instance of ludicrous ignorance; a Greek priest talked to him of "questa quartiera di Londra che si chiama Irlanda," i. 151.

3 Ἔξω θαλάττης. — *Polyb. Hist.* lib. iii.

countably took to be the Ogygia of Plutarch, and the Atlantis of Plato, would deserve to be described; as if it had been Iceland, or Greenland, or Spitzbergen, or Nova Zembla.[1] What would the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle say to him, who should now venture to tell them that the rigour of the climate makes their lives wretched, and that their country is almost uninhabitable on account of the cold?[2] Nevertheless, such is the repeated declaration of Strabo, and therefore he would naturally conclude, that all further progress through the Atlantic in that direction would be precluded by ice. Plutarch, however, gives a different explanation of the same assumed fact. He tells us, that such a quantity of sludge was poured into the Atlantic from the rivers of the opposite continent that it became quite thick[3], and hence arose the opinion that it was frozen. Plato accounts for it from the floating of the débris of Atlantis after its submersion; because it is only since that catastrophe, that it has become impervious. Scylax attributes it to muddiness, and shallowness[4], and sea-

[1] Sir W. Jones, iii. 76.

[2] Ἀθλίως διὰ ψύχος οἰκουμένη, ὥστε τὰ ἐπέκεινα νομίζειν ἀοίκητα. — *Strabo*, lib. i. p. 72. Ἀγρίων τελέως ἀνθρώπων κακῶς οἰκούντων διὰ ψύχος. Ibid. 120. His geography seems to be in great confusion, when he says, that opposite to the Pyrenees are the western parts of Britain towards the north. Ibid.

[3] Τὰ δ' ῥεύματα τὴν μεγάλην ἐξιέναι γῆν καὶ γίνεσθαι προχώσεις ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ βαρεῖαν εἶναι καὶ γεώδη τὴν θάλατταν, ἢ καὶ πεπηγέναι δόξαν ἔσχε. — *De Facie, &c.* sect. 26.

[4] When the Cardinal de Medici proposed to go to England from Terrovara in Flanders, his companions, who dissuaded him, formed a very different opinion of the German Ocean from that which the ancients entertained of it with respect to shallowness. They were paurosi oltre modo de' flutti di quel vasto e profondissimo mare. —*Ritratti d'Huomini Illustri di Casa Medici, by Ammirato, Opusc.* iii. 66.

weed; but, like Strabo, he confines it to that part which lies beyond Cerne. Strabo, indeed, abuses Eratosthenes for mentioning such places in the Atlantic, which have no existence there. But Strabo was a mere matter-of-fact man, and could not understand that Cerne was a name mystically applied to islands, as I have shown before. Tzetzes had no doubt the Cerne of Lycophron was Britain[1]; and Pliny states, that it was placed by all the ancient geographers in the Western Ocean, opposite to Æthiopia, or, as Salmasius proposes to read it, to Hesperia; that it was the furthest limit of Phœnician navigation, but that its magnitude and distance from the Continent were uncertain; which is a plain acknowledgment, that he knew nothing about the matter, except that an island in the Atlantic was generally believed to exist with that name, and that it was the most distant point to which the Phœnicians extended their voyages. Now that point was Britain, whither they traded for tin: Cornwall therefore was, as its name indicates, the Cerne of the ancients. But it is said to be opposite to Hesperia, (if at least, Salmasius's reading be correct,) that is, to Spain; and it is not at all surprising, that the Hesperides should be supposed to be over against Hesperia. But the fact is thus asserted by Priscian, or rather by Dionysius, whom he translated: "Opposite to the promontory, which is called sacred, and is considered the extreme point of Europe to the west, the Hesperides full

[1] Robert Constantine was of opinion that it was Ireland. — *Camden's Brittannia.*

of tin, are situated, inhabited by the brave Iberians."[1] They perhaps obtained that name from the Baris of their worship; but it is clear that their islands were the British islands, and their connection with Cape St. Vincent[2], which was the sacred promontory, was not merely their descent from the same stock, and their fancied proximity of position, but also a close similarity of sacred rites; for it had no altar to any particular god, but in many places three or four stones were put together, on which it was not lawful to sacrifice, and which were not to be approached at night, because the gods were there. They were manifestly Cromlechs; and some of these stones were to be moved by those who came there, according to an ancient usage.[3] They were manifestly rocking stones. Pytheas is another geographer who placed near Gibraltar certain islands, which Strabo maintained were Celtic, and more towards the north[4]; and Polybius, by apologising to his readers for not saying more about the columns of Hercules, and the outer sea, and the British Isles, and the preparation of tin, when he was treating of Spanish

1 Sed summam contra Sacram cognomine dicunt
Quam caput Europæ, sunt stanni pondere plenæ
Hesperides: populus tenuit quas fortis Iberi.
Prisciani Periegesis, 575.

So also Vincentius says of Ireland, that it was called Scotia, because it was peopled by the Scots; and Hibernia, because it stretches out into the Iberian or Cantabrian Sea. — *Speculum Historiale*, lib. i. c. 78.

2 Even Cæsar describes one side of Britain spreading towards Spain and the western sun. — *De Bell. Gall.* v. 13.

3 Στρεφέσθαι κατά τι πάτριον. — *Strabo*, i. 138.

4 Adjacent to the promontory Kalbion, and the furthest was Οὐξισάμη (ibid.), which may be Vectis, the Isle of Wight.

affairs[1], evidently shows that those countries were associated in his mind as near neighbours. A great deal of this confusion may be attributed to the ambiguous application of the name Celtice to two very distant portions of the European coast. The Celts, says Herodotus[2], are beyond the pillars of Hercules, the furthest towards the west of the inhabitants of Europe: they occupied the territory about Cape St. Vincent. But the coast of France was also the country of the Celts; and Britain, being supposed to be exactly parallel to that coast, would be easily transferred in the minds of some writers to the more southern Celtice. When those who had not the advantage of maps, or of any distinct information, read in Ephorus that Celtice extended to Cadiz, and in Aristotle that Albion and Ierne were above Celtice[3], the mistake was almost unavoidable: and, this perhaps is the best account of the vast extent which Plato gives to his Atlantis; for, in order to reconcile the various opinions given by different persons, it was necessary to suppose that it reached from the Frozen Sea down to the Straits of Gibraltar: and accordingly, he gave to Gadeirus, the twin-brother of Atlas, that corner of the island which was called Gadeira, the Erytheia of Pherecydes.[4] But it may be asked why did Pliny introduce Æthiopia here, supposing

[1] Polyb. Hist. lib. iii.

[2] Herod. Hist. lib. ii. 33.

[3] Ὑπὲρ τοὺς Κελτούς. — *Arist. de Mundo*, c. 3. Vincentius says, that Ireland ab Aphrica in Boream porrigitur. — *Spec. Historial.* i. 78.

[4] Plat. Op. vol. iii. Critias.

that the common reading be genuine? The Æthiopians, we are told by Homer, were divided into two branches; one under the rising, and the other under the setting sun.[1] They were favourites of Neptune, and lived in the ocean; and, as it has been shown that the eastern branch was an insular people in the Nile, so it may be concluded that the western branch was an insular people in the Atlantic, of which the Nile was maintained by some to be an arm.[2] They were the offspring of the Macrobii, and inhabited Erytheia, and the adjacent territory at the Atlantic flood.[3] They came too from the Hyperborean country; but it is to be feared that they were of the apostate party, for they came just at the time, when Hercules had succeeded in extinguishing the ancient oracle, which was distinguished by the name of Geryon[4]: and though the title of their ancestors, the Macrobii, or long-lived, seems to imply a reference to the long duration of life, which the Noachidæ enjoyed, yet it is impossible not to suspect from the juncture of time at which they arrived, that they

[1] Homer. Odyss. lib. i. 23. Iliad. i. 423. and v. 282.

[2] Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ περιῤῥέοντος τὴν οἰκουμένην Ὠκεανοῦ φασι τὸν Νεῖλον λαμβάνειν τὴν σύστασιν. — *Theophylact. Simocata, Lib. Hist.* vii. c. 17.

[3] Ἤτοι μὲν ναίουσι βοοτρόφον ἀμφ' Ἐρύθειαν
Ἄτλαντος περὶ χεῦμα θεουδέες Αἰθιοπῆες
Μακροβίων υἱῆες ἀμύμονες, οἱ ποθ' ἵκοντο
Γηρυόνος μετὰ πότμον ἀγήνορος.
Dionysius, de Situ Orbis, v. 558.

[4] Æthiopes habitant Erythiam pectore justi
Atlantem juxta longævi, finibus olim
Venit Hyperboreis quæ gens post fata perempti
Geryonis, domuit quem virtus Herculis ingens.
Priscian Periegesis, 570.

forsook the faith of their forefathers, like their kindred tribes on the Nile; for Memnon, the victorious king of Æthiopia, the inventor of letters, the son of the morning of the world[1], must be admitted into the society of those whom Buttmann in his Essay on the Minyæ has identified under one and the same mythical character[2], the king of Orchomenus Minyas, the Indian Menu, the Phrygian Men or Manes, the German Mannus, the Cretan Minos, and the Egyptian Menes, with whom the history of their respective countries begins; for it is only a dilatation of Menon, under which name the old king of Egypt occurs in a Greek author quoted by Pliny.[3]

Jacobs contends, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Munich, that the great number of sepulchral monuments, which lay claim to his remains from Meroe to the Æsopus, will not allow his legend to be interpreted historically. He must be admitted into the ranks of the Egyptian and Æthiopian gods. His graves are his sanctuaries.[4] This is quite true of all similar Arkite monuments, and therefore the discovery of bodies or bones in tumuli of that description detracts nothing from their sacred character. To deny it, indeed, on that ground is not less absurd than to maintain that the old ruins

[1] He was the son of Ηους; perhaps this is a mistake for Ιους, and he was really the son of Ioh, the moon or ark.

[2] Ueber die Minyæ der ältesten Zeit. — *Mytholog.* vol. ii.

[3] Anticlides in Ægypto invenisse literas quendam nomine Menona tradit xv annis ante Phoroneum antiquissimum Græciæ regem. — *Nat. Hist.* vii. 56.

[4] Philolog. Mus. vi. 159.

of churches were not devoted to religion, because they contain many graves within their walls. The Æthiopians, therefore, who came from the north to Erytheia, were probably those apostates who formed the expedition of Hercules to the Hesperides, which is thus described in Euripides.[1] "He went to the hymning or oracular damsels at their Hesperian dwelling to pluck the apple-bearing fruit from amongst the golden leaves, and to destroy the dark serpent, who guarded them by winding his folds round the inaccessible circle; and he entered into the sacred recesses of the ocean imposing a severe labour upon his mortal crew; and, coming to the residence of Atlas, he lifted up his hands below the central seat of heaven, and stoutly bore upon his shoulders the starry habitations of the gods." In order to the better elucidation of this passage, it will be necessary to offer a few observations upon the terms employed.

1. Then it was one of these hymning damsels, whom the Phœnician queen pretended to consult, because she professed by her songs or charms to

Τμνῳδούς τε κόρας
Ἦλυθεν ἐσπέριον ἐς αὐλὰν,
Χρυσέων πετάλων ἄπο μηλοφόρον
Χερὶ καρπὸν ἀμέρξων
Δράκοντα πυρσόνωτον,
Ὃς ἄπλατον ἀμφιελικτὸς ἕλιξ' ἐφρούρει
Κτανών· ποντίας δ' ἁλὸς
Μυχοὺς εἰσέβαινε, θνατοῖς
Ταλαν[ί]ας τιθεὶς ἐρετμοῖς.
Οὐρανοῦ δ' ὑπὸ μέσαν
Ἐλαύνει χέρας ἔδραν,
Ἄτλαντος δόμον ἐλθών·
Ἀστρωπούς τε κατέσχεν οἴκους
Εὐανορίᾳ θεῶν.

give relief to some and anxiety to others, to stop the course of rivers, and to turn the stars backward, and to summon the shades of the dead by night.[1] She is described as the priestess of the temple of the Hesperides, who fed the dragon, and was the guardian of the sacred branches in the tree, and she lived where Atlas turns the axis of heaven upon his shoulder near the end of the ocean, the most distant residence of the Æthiopians.[2] Servius, and indeed most of the commentators, imagine that the poet alluded to Atlas in Mauritania; and to a certain extent they are right. It was a Mauritanian Atlas of which he spoke, but not in the Mauritania on the African coast. Hyginus mentions an island of that name, which was one of the largest size.[3] Now the existence of Britain must certainly have been known to him; and yet it is

Oceani finem juxta, solemque cadentem,
Ultimus Æthiopum locus est; ubi maximus Atlas
Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
Hinc mihi Massylæ gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
Quæ dabat, et sacros servabat in arbore ramos.
Hac se carminibus promittit solvere mentes
Quas velit; ast aliis duras immittere curas,
Sistere aquam fluviis, et vertere sidera retro;
Nocturnosque ciet manes. — *Virgil. Æneid.* iv. 480.

[2] These Æthiopians considered all mountains sacred:

Propter Atlantei tergum salis Æthiopum gens
Hesperides habitant: dorsum tumet hic Erytheæ
Hicque Sacri, sic terga vocat gens ardua, montis.
R. F. Avien. 738.

[3] Insulæ maximæ. Mauritania posita ad solis occasum.—*Hygin.* c. cclxxvi. p. 145.

It is true he gives it an extent in circumference of only 76 stadia; but it is plain that there must be some error in the reading of the number, as there certainly is in some of the following clauses; else it could not be the first of the insulæ maximæ.

not mentioned at all in his enumeration of islands, if this be not it; and as it stands first in the list, it was probably considered the largest. If it may be allowed to have a Greek derivation, it will signify, the Land of Darkness, or of Death [1]; for, according to Hesiod, Night was the mother of the Hesperides [2]; and yet shortly after he gives them the names of the Gorgons, and the same residence.[3] Wherefore the islands were called Gorgades, as well as Hesperides. Now the Gorgons were the progeny of Keto, and their posterity were not unmindful of their descent. In a poem of Taliessin, there is a line which Davies translates thus [4]: A holy sanctuary there is with its productions of the vessel of Kêd. Kêd and Kêt, says the same writer, are precisely the same word; therefore the stone of Ketti, the lifting of which was one of the three mighty labours of Britain [5], and is compared to the labour of constructing Stonehenge, and piling up the mount of Assemblies, as in the instance of Silbury Hill, must be referred to those rude resemblances of a ship, which sometimes were placed upon such a narrow keel as to become rocking stones, and usually were furnished with rock basins

[1] Μαυρος, obscurus; μαυροω, deleo.

[2] Νὺξ δ' ἔτεκε —
'Εσπερίδας θ', αἳς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ 'Ωκεανοῖο, &c.
Hes. Theog. 211.

[3] Κητω — τεκε —
Γοργούς, αἳ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ 'Ωκεανοῖο
'Εσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός· ἵν' 'Εσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι
Σθεινώ τ', Εὐρυάλη τε, Μέδουσά τε λυγρὰ παθοῦσα.—Ibid. 274.

[4] Addfwyn gaer y sydd ái cyffr wy Cedwn.—*Mic Dinbych*, or *A View of the Bardic Sanctuary*.

[5] The Triads in Davies's Celtic Mythology.

representing the purifying cauldron of Ceridwen. "Ketti is a derivative from Ket, and this must have implied an ark, or chest; for we still retain its diminutive form Keten, a small chest or cabinet."[1] This may account for the whale which swallowed Jonah, being called by the Celts Kyd; by the Greeks Ketos[2]; and by the Latins Cetus: for the Triads speak of the prison of Kyd under the flat stone. Keto, therefore, considered as the Ark, is very rightly declared the parent of those who peopled the Hesperides.

2. Euripides seems to be aware, that the fruit of which they were despoiled was something of more importance than an apple, for he calls it the apple-bearing fruit, which looks very like nonsense: and so it would be, if it were not intended to be enigmatical. The critics, driven by the apparent absurdity of the fiction to find some explanation, have generally agreed that the poets played upon an equivocal word, which signified sheep as well as apples.[3] The fruit suited their poetry much better; and besides, it was not so easy to make the sheep entirely of gold; for which reason even the Colchian ram could only wear a golden fleece. But after all, how much does this meagre explanation derogate from the character of a fable so much celebrated, if, as in the case of Geryon before, it

[1] Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 409. From an old poem which is attributed to Taliessin. The Cibno Kêd of Aneurin, which he uses as synonymous with the cauldron, or vessel of Ceridwen, may be κιβωτὸν κῆτους.

[2] Κύτος, in Greek, is a cavity, and Κῆτος, a large ship.

[3] Ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας τοὺς ποιητὰς τὰ πρόβατα μῆλα καλοῦντας ὀνομάσαι χρυσᾶ μῆλα. — *Diod. Sic. Hist.* lib. iv. p. 233.

was only a piratical expedition to steal a few sheep, which the poets wrapped up in such deep mystery. The sheep were indebted for their importance to the purpose to which they were devoted. They were claimed as victims for sacrifice: in short, the religion of the country after that period was much the same as that which Tacitus describes in Germany.[1] "They are allowed to propitiate Hercules with animal sacrifices; but part worship Isis under the form of a ship." The selection of the apple for this fable was the more fortunate, because the apple tree seems to have had a mysterious use among the Celts; and one of their bards speaks of 147 apple trees all exactly alike.[2] It is conjectured that this number arises from multiplying the square of seven by three, for both are sacred numbers. But for the purpose to which they were applied we must again have recourse to Tacitus. Twigs of fruit trees were cut off; and being distinguished by particular marks, were thrown together promiscuously upon a white cloth. Then on any public emergency the priest took up one of them three times, and from their marks interpreted the will of

[1] Herculem — concessis animalibus placant: pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat; unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi; nisi quod signum ipsum in modum Liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem. — *Tacitus de Mor. Germ.* c. ix.

[2] Merddin in the Avallenaa, or Poem of Apple Trees. — *Davies's Celtic Mythol.* p. 487. The tree, he says, with delicate blossoms, grows in concealment among the forests. Taliessin calls it Pren puraur, the tree of pure gold, p. 681. So Virgil:

Latet arbore opacâ
Aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,
Junoni infernæ dictus sacer: hunc tegit omnis
Lucus, et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbræ.—*Æn.* vi. 136.

the gods.[1] These priests were remarkably powerful; for they were the only persons in the state to whom an arbitrary power of punishment was confided.[2] Their auguries and their oracles must have been a source of great profit to them; and that is the reason why sometimes the leaves, and sometimes the branches, and sometimes the fruit, is said to be of gold.

3. The dragon which Hercules slew is said, on the one hand, to have been born of Keto, that is to say, he was the offspring of the Arkite system, and therefore has his dwelling in the hiding-places of the dark earth[3]; and, on the other hand, he has for his parents Echidna and Typhon[4], that is, he derived from them his right to be considered an emblem of the deluge, coiling himself round the sacred circular mount, accessible only to the priests and the representative of the globe: for so the fictitious island of the Hindoos, which contained Meru, and was the only island not destroyed by the deluge, is also called Ila, and Ida, or the earth.[5] If the red colour of the dragon be not merely a poetical ornament, it is not impossible that it may convey an allusion to the red colour of

[1] De Mor. Germ. c. 10.

[2] Neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum. Ibid. c. vii. The Æthiopian priests in Meroe were still more despotic; they ordered their kings to die whenever they pleased, and were obeyed, till one more sturdy than the rest sent a body of soldiers into the sacred place, where ὁ χρυσοῦς νεώς, the golden ark, was, and slaughtered them all.—*Strabo*, lib. xvii.

[3] Ὃς ἐρεμνῆς κεύθεσι γαίης
Πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις, παγχρύσεα μῆλα φυλάσσει.
Hes. Theog. 334.

[4] Apollodorus, lib. ii.

[5] Lardner's Geography, p. 140.

the hair of the priests, who were the real object of attack; for it is a circumstance which Tacitus notices as characteristic of the Caledonians.[1]

4. Since Hercules could not enter the sanctuaries of the ocean, without imposing a severe toil upon his crew, not only every continental site for the Hesperides, whether in Africa or Europe, is necessarily set aside, but every island, too, near the Straits of Gibraltar, or that could be reached from thence without a long voyage.

Lastly, he found there the residence of Atlas; and, in order to insure the success of his undertaking, he was obliged to act the part of Atlas, and, for a time, to sustain the globe.[2] But whence arose this fable, and what was its design? Simplicius attributes it to an opinion that the heavens were heavy, and stood in need of some animated being to support them; or, if something more philosophical were required, Atlas was to be considered as a power co-operating with the Demiurge, whom he calls Dionusus, to keep the sky and earth asunder, and prevent the upper part of the universe from mixing in confusion with the lower. But these are very lame solutions: for Atlas is always represented supporting a convex sphere, and not within its concave, which must have been his position upon either of these hypotheses. Simplicius himself, however, perceives that it has a mystical signification, though he cannot explain it. "If," says he, "it be indeed a myth, in which some

[1] Rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ. — *Vita Agric.* c. 11.
[2] Apollodorus, lib. ii.

sacred and deep mystery is wrapped up, let us say that Atlas himself is one of the Titans that attend Dionusus."[1] If now we suppose this Titan to be a mountain, bearing on his back the microcosm of the Ark, the representative of the terrestrial globe, because it contained all its surviving inhabitants, there is immediately a congruity between the outward symbol and the mythic mystery in all its parts.

The Aldine edition reads Tartarians instead of Titans; but it comes to the same purpose; for the Titans were the gods of Tartarus, which Strabo fixes in the extreme west, not of Africa, but of Europe: and when Hesiod relates their defeat, he designates their place of banishment, sometimes the dark west, and sometimes the gloomy Tartarus. The Scholiast upon this author has preserved a singular story no where else extant now, which distinctly identifies the British Isles both with the Hesperides and with Tartarus, the abode of the dead. "Concerning the islands in the ocean," says he, "Homer and Hesiod, Lycophron and Plutarch, Philostratus and Dion, and others, have agreed in asserting, that it is a fine country, with perpetual western breezes, and bearing fruit three times a year. There also, they say, the souls of the dead pass over the sea; for thus they write: On the shore of the oceanic island Britain, certain fisher-

[1] Εἰ δὲ μῦθον ὄντως ἐστὶ θεῖον τί κρύπτον ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ σοφὸν, λεγέσθω, ὅτι Ἄτλας εἷς μέν ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Τιτάνων; or as it is more clearly expressed in the Aldine edition: εἰ δὲ μῦθος ὢν θεῖόν τι ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀποκρύπτει καὶ σοφὸν, &c. — *Commentary on Aristotle's Treatise De Cœlo.*

men live subject, but not tributary, to the Frangi: these hear, in their sleep, a voice calling them, and are sensible of a noise about their doors, and on rising, they find vessels, not their own, but full of passengers, which, as soon as they get on board, convey them by a single pull of the oars to Britain, though it would take them a day and a night, at least, to reach it in their own ships. There disembarking their unknown freight, and seeing no one, they hear a voice hailing them, and pronouncing their name, their tribe, their family, and their business; and so, again returning with the same rapidity, they find their ships lighter than when those passengers were on board: hence, all the Greeks have declared, that the souls of the dead lived there, and such is the assertion of Hesiod with respect to the souls of the Heroes." [1] Perhaps Jersey, or Guernsey, may have some claim to be considered the theatre of these mysterious beings [2], even then considered a part of the British Isles; for their short distance from the French coast will account for one part of the miracle; and in some old ecclesiastical records, the title bestowed on Jersey is "The Holy Gate;" and on Guernsey, "The Holy, Blessed, and Fortunate Island." [3] But since allusion has

[1] Johan. Tzetzes in Schol. ad Hesiod. Operum et Dierum, v. 169.

[2] A competitor with those islands, however, may be found in the Isle of Thanet, which Vincentius, in his Speculum Historiale, calls Thanatos, *i. e.* Death. It was so sacred, that its very soil taken to a distance was fatal to serpents. Immunity from these reptiles, *i. e.* from Ophiolatry, was a privilege it enjoyed in common with Ireland.

[3] Mr. Metevier in a paper communicated to the Bristol Society on the Cromlechs, &c. of Guernsey.

been already made to Hesiod's opinion concerning the Fortunate Islands and their inhabitants, it may be as well to pursue the inquiry a little further; for the work in which he introduces it is not, like his theogony, disfigured by endless and incoherent allegories, but the truth of history is only slightly veiled by the poetry with which it is clothed. The first book, which is a serious exhortation to various moral duties, very naturally contains a sketch of the history of religion from the earliest times, or, to use his own expression, from the time when the gods and men originated [1], or were born together, which can only mean, that the first men were likewise the first gods of idolatry. It was the golden age in which Saturn reigned, when governed by the aged patriarch, and remembering the vengeance of God so recently experienced, men lived well and happily. The earth, enriched with the slime of the deluge, teemed with spontaneous fruitfulness, and they lived in peace and quietness, unacquainted with labour, and distress, and the troubles of old age; for death was to them like falling asleep. When this generation disappeared, they became the good Genii, or Daimons [2],—the guardians of mortals, the dispensers of wealth, the invisible observers of vice and virtue: in short, it is the portrait of the gods of paganism, under their most favourable aspect.

[1] Hecatæus contended that men were descended from the gods; the Egyptian priests denied that they lived at the same time, but not that the gods were the first rulers of Egypt.—*Herodot.* l. ii. c. 143.

[2] Τοὶ μὲν Δαίμονές εἰσι —
Ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c.
Oper. et Dier. 121.

The next, or silver age, marks the first step in the degeneracy of religion, when the Ammonites and Cuthites separated the Arkite memorials from the purpose for which they were intended, and transubstantiated them into objects of worship, or transferred to themselves and their own immediate families the honours hitherto paid to the Noachidæ, and which now began to be idolatrous. They instituted the mysteries, and so protracted was the process of initiation, that they were said to live a hundred years, as children in their maternal dwelling [1], and to die very soon after they reached maturity. Their descendants having been the greatest opponents of all other sects, and especially of that image worship which obtained the ascendancy in Greece, they are stigmatised as injurious men, who refused to serve the gods, or to offer sacrifice upon their altars. But though Jupiter annihilated them, in order to avenge the Olympic gods [2], the poet is nevertheless constrained to own, that they were in the second class of terrestrial deities, and partook in some degree of divine honours. Of the third period little was known, except that it was a period of war and violence, before the use of iron was discovered. Brass, or rather copper, was the only metal they employed,

1 Ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ
Ἐτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων μέγα νήπιος ᾧ ἔνι οἴκῳ. *Oper. et Dier.* 129.

2 Τοὺς μὲν ἔπειτα
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἔκρυψε· χολούμενος, οὕνεκα τιμὰς
Οὐκ ἐδίδουν μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν, 136.
Perhaps ἔκρυψε should be rendered, consigned them to obscurity:
Τοὶ μὲν ἐπιχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται
Δεύτεροι· ἀλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ, 140.

and therefore it is denominated the brazen age. It would not be difficult to account for the turbulence of those times, because no social institutions were yet matured for the protection of private property. But we have no records of them beyond the little which the Bible affords; and since Hesiod seems to make the same acknowledgment, when he says they died without a name, it is a statement which rests more upon conjecture than on evidence. Agatharchides speaks of copper tools discovered in some deep galleries, which the ancient Egyptians must have formed to work the gold mines on the Red Sea.[1] They must belong to this age; for no people would use copper for such a purpose who were acquainted with the use of iron: and yet it is a fact, which argues considerable refinement. In like manner, the copper tools which have been found in this country, and are commonly denominated Celts, seem to be the implements of a peaceful rather than of a warlike people: some of them, which I have seen, have the shape of carpenters' tools. They must be as ancient, therefore, as those in Egypt; for since both tin and iron were used by Homer's heroes on the plains of Troy, the same intercourse, which exported into the Mediterranean the former of these metals, must have introduced a knowledge of the latter into the British Isles. It is interesting to observe that the Celts and the Egyptians are connected together, not only by similarity of religious usages in very remote times, but also by a

[1] Lardner's Geography, p. 73.

similarity in their instruments of art.[1] But with respect to their habits during the brazen age, nothing more than this can safely be concluded,—that they were content to walk in the old paths, and that no one during that time distinguished himself by successful usurpation, or by innovations under the pretence of reform. They lived and died unknown to fame, and we know as little of the men who used our Celts, as we do of the man in the moon. The next was a more aspiring age; not that of iron—for that was the poet's own hard lot, which he bitterly bewails—but an intermediate age, an age of heroes and demigods; that is to say, of ambitious princes and priests, who, as at Thebes, and in the Trojan War, conspired to overturn the ancient institutions, not openly, but insidiously, under the name of reform; and therefore they contrived to be invested with titles, which properly belonging to the Noachidæ gave them considerable authority, especially among those who were imbued with the Eastern philosophy, and believed that their gods might pass through repeated incarnations on earth, in the persons of distinguished men. Thus they succeeded in changing the political and religious aspect of the world; and besides the present reward of success, the profit and glory which crowned their enterprises, they were exalted after death nearly to the same rank, and consigned to the same abodes, as the patriarchs

[1] Aus allem sehen wir, dass die ältesten Völker nicht so fremd gewesen sind, als man sonst geglaubt hat, und dass die Religion ein Band war, welches eine Gemeinshaft unter ihnen knüpfte und erhielt. — *K. Barth's Hertha*, p. 132.

themselves. Both the Daimons, therefore, and the Heroes, were located at the furthest extremity of the known world in the oceanic islands of the Blessed [1], or, as Demetrius distinctly asserted, in the British islands [2]: and on this account, in one of them particularly, the inhabitants were deemed by the other Britons sacred and inviolable.[3] With respect to the Daimons, Plutarch lets us into an important secret: after stating that they were the associates of Saturn, while he governed the world, he adds, that they were seers, who had the power of prophecy [4]; in other words, they were an order of Druids, Vates [5]: but, when they were consulted upon subjects of great importance, the oracle issued from the sleeping-place of Saturn; for he was said to lie asleep in a cave, where he was confined by rocks of gold [6], and supplied by birds with ambrosia, which diffused its fragrance over all the island,

1 Τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοτον καὶ ἤθε' ὀπάσσας
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης·
Καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
Ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην
Ὄλβιοι ἥρωες· τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν
Τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.
Hes. Op. et Dier. 166.

2 Τῶν περὶ τὴν Βριττανίαν νήσων —
Ὧν ἐνίας δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὀνομάζεσθαι.
Plutarch. De Defectu Orac. sect. 18.

3 Ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους. Ibid.

4 Πολλὰ μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μαντικοὺς ὄντας προλέγειν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, ὡς ὀνείρατα τοῦ Κρόνου κατιόντας ἐξαγγέλλειν. — *Plutarch. De Facie, &c.* sect. 26.

5 Θεολόγοι περιττῶς τιμώμενοι, οὓς σαρουίδας (*i. e.* Druidas) ὀνομάζουσι. χρῶνται δὲ μάντεσιν, ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες αὐτούς· οὗτοι δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγουσι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοον. — *Diod. Sic.* lib. v. p. 308.

6 Τὸν Κρόνον ἐν ἄντρῳ βαθεῖ περιέχεσθαι ἐπὶ πέτρας χρυσοειδοῦς καθεύδοντα. Ibid.

flowing from the rock as from a fountain. During his slumbers there, the whole of the divine counsels were revealed to him; and the reason why he is said to sleep is very remarkable — because sleep tranquillises the Titanic emotions, and renders the soul pure and clean. It is evident, therefore, that the place of confinement was a mystic cell of purification, in which the Archdruid, the representative of the Patriarch, immured himself to practise austerities, and to utter his oracular responses.

Even the history of the Christian church affords too many examples of caverns employed for the former purpose. "An extensive grotto on the Dnieper is lined with very small cells, hardly wide enough for young children to occupy, in which, though there was not room for them to turn themselves, certain saints, nevertheless, spent years of their lives without bread, supported only by herbs and the water which dropped from a place in the rock over their cells. Some made themselves close prisoners in their cells, and were supplied with meat and drink through a niche above."[1] The compassionate persons who brought these supplies were the birds of Saturn; but the Celtic saint must have fared better than the Christians, for the savoury smell of his viands was scented far and wide. After all, however, they may not have been so ambrosial as the tradition represents. It is probably no more than a poetical embellishment derived from the ancient name of Stonehenge, the largest and most important temple of the Arkites in these islands:

[1] Macarius's Travels, part ii.

that was Petræ Ambrosiæ; and it is usually accounted for thus: the Saxons under Hengist treacherously murdered upon that spot three hundred of the principal Britons, with whom they were feasting and drinking; and Ambrose, a native chief of great renown, erected those celebrated stones in memory of his murdered countrymen. But Milton throws a juster light upon this transaction, when he contends that Ambrose was a prophet: "I perceive not," says he, "that Nennius makes any difference between him and Merlin; for that child, without father, that prophesied to Vortigern, he names not Merlin but Ambrose[1]:" he was, therefore, the very man who personated Saturn. Another tradition, however, connects him with this monument in a different way:—he is said to have advised the king (Ambrosius) to send to Killany, in the county of Meath, for a circle of stones, and transport them to Salisbury Plain. The king laughed; but Merlin assured him that they were stones of great efficacy, and brought thither formerly by the heroes from Spain, who placed them as they are at present. Their motive for bringing them was this: in cases of sickness, they medicated the stone and poured water on it, and this water cured any disorder. Uther Pendragon went with 15,000 men and conquered the Irish; but could not move the stones, till Merlin, by his art, drew them, without labour, to the ships.[2] Now we may venture to assert, in the teeth of the

[1] Milton's Hist. of England, Book iii. 102.
[2] Roberts's Antiquities of Wales, p. 72.

tradition, that Stonehenge never made this tour from Gades to Salisbury Plain through Ireland. It only means that men, whose ministrations were to give efficacy to the stones, were procured from a college of priests, at Killany, and that they would not come at the bidding of the king, but were persuaded by the solicitations of Merlin. But it is evident that the stones were not considered as monuments, nor merely as parts of an architectural design. They were sacred in themselves, and had the divine power of conferring health through the medium of water; and the veneration with which they were regarded went back to an unknown antiquity. It is a great mistake, therefore, to derive their name from the king or prophet, who, in fact, is indebted to them for his own appellative: he was the priest of the Ambre temple, which gave the name of Ambresbury to the nearest town, now Amesbury. Its real etymology must be one which will equally well suit another remarkable Petra Ambrosia on the Cornish coast. The famous Logan Stone, which has recently afforded so much scope both to the mischievous propensities and to the mechanical skill of our sailors, was called Menamber. It was eleven feet long, six wide, and four in depth, and so nicely poised, that a child could move it. "The vulgar," says Borlase, "used to pay this stone more respect than was thought becoming good Christians; which was the reason that part of the lower stone was cut off in Cromwell's time, which has given it its present reclining posture."[1] Now, if it would have been absurd to

[1] Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 172.

expect the Cornishmen to give an exact account of the original cause of their veneration for the Logan Stone, why should their ancestors be supposed to have the real history of the Deluge distinctly in their view when they worshipped a monument, which is proved, by other evidence, to belong to that history? For in its proportions, it was a rough representation of a ship resting on her keel, and its name signifies the stone of the Baris, or the summit: for, from Mr. Bryant's collection of Zingari, or Gypsey words, it seems that Bara and Baro mean a ship, as Bari does in Coptic and old Egyptian; and since the mountain took its name from the Ark, Bar, in the Cornish language, signified the top or summit of anything. But other notions, too, were connected with it, which mark distinctly to what sort of summit it originally referred. M. de Gebelin, who studied with much attention the origin of languages, informs us that this word and all its cognate forms, Var, Ber, Bre, Bri, invariably signified some place of habitation upon the waters.[1] The notion of subsequent fertility being always connected with the Deluge, we find it recurring here; for Bar and Var were Celtic terms for corn[2]: for the same reason Isis, the goddess of the Bari, carries ears of corn; and one of her names is Ceres. He further remarks, that the term was applied to any pointed elevation[3];

[1] Bar, &c. ont constamment désigné une ville, un lieu habité sur des eaux. — *M. Court de Gebelin, Origine du Langage.* Brê, in Celtic, is a hill. — *Borlase.* Hence the Scotch Brae.

[2] Hence Far and Farina.

[3] Elévation aigue, qui se forme en pointe. — *Dictionnaire Etymologique,* p. lxxxiv.

and so the Gypsey word for a steeple is Boro.[1] Upon the same principle, the tower of Antonia, seated upon a rock at Jerusalem, is designated by Josephus, a Baris.[2] But when he says that Daniel, after his deliverance from the lion's den, built a Baris in Ecbatana, he means something more than an ordinary tower; for it had so much of a sacred character, that it was placed under the charge of a priest; and the kings of Media, and Persia, and Parthia, were buried there.[3] Tzetzes says it was a term used for towers and for pillars, as well as ships[4]; and Hesychius gives as one explanation of it, pillared places[5] — a description which exactly suits Stonehenge; for, in this sense, it is eminently the sanctuary of the Baris, An Bers. The Celtic pillars have been ingeniously employed by the classic poets to cover the defeat of one of their heroes. Perseus, or a party of Persians, visited the British Isles; for no other interpretation will suit the insular Hyperborean people, to whom Pindar introduces him. The inhabitants were a sacred race, who lived unharmed by old age, without diseases, or labour, or war: they were a right merry and jovial set of people, whose dances and songs re-

[1] Boro is nearly connected with Bauro, the Ocean.

[2] St. Jerome translates בִּירָה, in Hosea, viii. 14. Βαρεῖς, (*Comment.* lib. ii. 1291.) and says it was commonly used in Palestine even down to his time, to denote strong buildings, magnas et in modum turrium ædificatas domos, erected in the form of towers. See also *D'Anville's Dissertation on the Extent of Ancient Jerusalem*, ii. 312.

[3] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. x. c. 11. sect. 7.

[4] Scholia on Lycophron's Cassandra.

[5] Βᾶρις, πλοῖον, ἢ τεῖχος, ἢ στοαὶ, ἢ πύργος.

joiced the heart of Apollo[1]; and perhaps there was no other reason for the poet's presuming that they worshipped Apollo; at least, the sacrifice in which they are supposed to have been engaged looks very like a blunder — they were sacrificing a hecatomb of asses.[2] Now, Bricos, or rather, deducting the Greek termination, Bric, was an African word, of the same meaning as Onos; and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that it may also have had the sense of Baris — a sense still retained in our English word Brig; especially since Onos was sometimes used in the sense of a vessel[3], and sometimes of a large stone.[4]

On this hypothesis, the upright beasts will be the circle of upright stones; and then we can better understand the exultation of Apollo in beholding their reluctance to be forced into his service.[5] But there may have been also another source of error. Ani or Oni is a ship in Hebrew[6], and being derived from a root signifying sorrow, it may have implied the diluvian waters, and the sacrifice libations upon the pillars. We have a similar instance of ambiguity in Hebrew; for it is a question among

[1] Diodorus is less complimentary on this subject: he describes the Celts as much addicted to drunkenness; and certainly in the Welsh poetry the delicious potent mead is mentioned quite *con amore*, over and over again.

[2] Βρικὸς, pro asino vox Africana est — *Boch. Geog. Sac.* iv. c. 26.

[3] Ὄνον οἴνου μεστὸν. — *Aristoph. Vesp.*

[4] Ὄνος ἀλέτης. — *Xenoph. Anab.* lib. i.

[5] Γελᾷ θ' ὁρῶν ὕβριν
ὀρθιᾶν κνωδάλων. — *Pind. Pyth.* 10.

Vallancey says, that Onn is the name of pillars in Ireland sacred to the sun.

[6] אֳנִי, navis. — *Castell. Lex.* It is a ship also in Irish; from אָנַן mœstus fuit.

interpreters, whether Ana, in Genesis xxxvi., found mules or water in the desert[1]: for the same word signifies both. Our translators have chosen the first sense; the Vulgate the last. However this may be, it is certain that Perseus shamefully requited the acknowledged hospitality of the inhabitants by slaying their queen Medusa[2], who, because she governed the Gorgades Islands, was called a Gorgon.[3] Perhaps she died in defence of a device, which belonged to the Arkite rites, and is found on ancient British sculpture; for "the head of the great creating and destroying power is often found," says Sir H. Englefield[4], "as in the patera that filled the tympanum of the temple at Bath, with serpents and wings;" and it is therefore called her head. Petrified with horror at the sight, her subjects still stand around the fatal spot in those tall monuments of stone[5], which look like giants over Salisbury Plain; or if Abury be supposed to be the scene of action, the snaky tresses are a direct allusion to that serpent form which was wreathed round the head of the whole design,

[1] יְמִם, mulos, or aquas calidas, v. 24. חֲמֹר also is equivocal: for it signifies mire, and an ass, and a very large vessel, the Chomer.

[2] Μεδουσα from μέδειν, to govern.

[3] Mandelsloe very truly observes, that those who would have the Cape de Verde Islands to be the Gorgonides of Ptolemy, must be under a mistake; since it is not very probable, that he, who has left us so confused an account of the African coast, should have any knowledge of those isles at so great a distance; and yet the weeds, which float there in such abundance, that, without a strong gale, ships are sometimes stopped in their passage, seem to have been known. *Harris's Collection*, i. 804.

[4] Archæologia, x. 332.

[5] Ποικίλον κάρα
Δρακόντων φόβαισιν ἤλυθε νη-
σιώταις λίθινον θάνατον φέρων. — *Pind. Pyth.* 10.

the principal sanctuary of the temple. Pindar abstains from dropping a single hint of the sordid motive which brought the strangers there, or of the repulse which they received; but both may be inferred from the narrative of Ovid: for the gardens of Atlas, whom Perseus visited, were undoubtedly the gardens of the Hesperides.[1] They were in the Hesperian world, and he was monarch of the sea, and of the extreme west; and it was a country inaccessible on foot, because it was insular; and inaccessible by sea, because the Atlantic was thought impassable beyond Cadiz[2]; and therefore the poet had no means of sending his hero there, except by flying through the air. It is obvious that he sought that distant land for the sake of the treasures which it produced, for there we meet again with golden branches producing golden leaves and golden fruit[3]; to protect which, like Meru and Atlantis, it was fenced round with mountains. Atlas, however, perceiving that he came to rob his garden, drove him away, and he was forced to seek his fortunes in more propitious lands; but the existence of a mountain on the African coast, bearing the same name with the Titan, who reigned in Arcadia and Etruria[4], both Arkite countries, as well as in his own island, gave the poet a colourable pretext for bringing off his hero with the credit of punish-

[1] Metamorph. lib. iv. fab. 17.

[2] Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατὸν. — *Pind. Nem.* 4.

[3] In Pindar's description of the Island of the Blessed, the stronghold of Saturn, over which the oceanic breezes blow, the flowers are of gold. — *Olymp. Od.* 2.

[4] Lactantius says, that an Atlas reigned in Arcadia and Etruria. — *Commentary on Ovid. Metam.* lib. iv. fab. 17.

ing the inhospitality of Atlas, by turning him into that vast emblem of his own Arkite rites. The innovation therefore on those rites, which Pindar by mistake dates before the arrival of Perseus, was not really effected, till, as Plutarch relates, the companions of Hercules were mixed with the people of Saturn.[1] The companions of Hercules were a party associated under his name, and perhaps under his banner: for so in India the standard, which inspired most courage into the army of Porus, was the image of Hercules; and to desert the bearers of this standard was a grievous crime.[2] In consequence of their general success, he is said to have tranquillised the sea and the inaccessible region, and to be the only person who could restore the worship of the gods, which impious men neglected.[3] That his exploit of taking Cerberus captive in the regions of darkness was, like that of Geryon, only an invasion of the Caer, or oracle, of the Baris, is pretty plainly admitted in his answer to Amphitryon's inquiry, as to the mode of his success.[4] He attributes it to his good fortune in having seen the Mysteries, which were acted in those oracular caverns, called the Beds of Granny and of Saturn. The very circumstance of their being so denominated, when we look back to the Celtic term, bears testimony to their Arkite origin: that term

[1] Plut. de Facie in Orbe Lunæ, c. 26.

[2] Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. sect. 14.

[3] Ἄβατον δὲ χώραν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀγρίαν
Ἐξημερώσας, θεῶν ἀνέστησεν μόνος
Τιμὰς, πιτνούσας ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν ὕπο.
Eurip. Hercules Furens, 853.

[4] Τὰ μυστῶν δ' ὄργι' εὐτύχησ' ἰδών.— Ibid. 614.

is Leaba. Now Vallancey elsewhere says, that the Irish used to call their bark vessels Leabhar Naoi[1]: he does not say, indeed, that Leabhar alone bore that sense, but it is highly probable; for the English language has run the same course; and though we no longer make our ships of bark, yet there are vessels which we continue to call barks. That the word is not at present known in that sense is no argument to the contrary; for we are told that the old pagan Irish had become obsolete in the eighth century, and a number of expressions in the ancient poems were not understood.[2] As therefore the Ark was the resting-place of the Patriarch during the long night of his confinement in it, so the imitative cells were turned into places of nightly repose. Thus in Hoy, the island of the Celtic Noah, Hu, the Dwarfy stone is hollowed out within, and at each end is a bed and pillow worked out in the stone. Toland describes it as having a hole in the side about two feet square to admit its inmates; and a square stone lay near it, which had served the purpose of a door. On such a bed[3] we may imagine the Archdruid, who acted Saturn, sought a hard repose; and I think it will not be impossible to divine the motive of their assuming that particular title. They were in the habit of watching for the return of the planet Saturn into the constellation of the Bull at the end of every

[1] Vallancey mentions many tombs inscribed with Druidic characters, which are called by the natives Leaba na feine, the bed or grave of the learned. Naoi, he says, is in Irish the name of Noah.

[2] Collectanea de Reb. Hib. iv. 392.

[3] Thus, too, in the rock of Mahabalipoor, there is a platform of stone, called the Bed of Dhermarajah. — *As. Res.* i. 135.

thirty years, which was the period of its revolution round the sun. Now if that was, or was supposed to be, the true position of the planet at the Deluge, no better commemoration of the event could be devised, than that which they practised as often as they witnessed the same conjunction of stars; for on that occasion, they sent forth ships prepared long before[1], and well provided with stores, to seek an island of safety, — an Ararat in a distant ocean. Hence the cycle of thirty years became their annus magnus; but so much was their astronomy controlled by their religious mysteries, that those periods, as well as their ordinary years and months, took their beginning from the sixth day of the moon[2]; a practice for which it would be difficult to account upon any other principle than this. It was precisely that age of the moon, which gives her the greatest resemblance to the double-prowed Baris; and for this reason the day was called All-heal, and on this day the sacred misseltoe was gathered, which presents to view a similar emblem at every joint.

[1] Παρασκευασαμένους ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἄποπλουν ἐκπέμπειν, &c. — *Plut. de Facie in Orbe Lunæ*, s. 26. The Æthiopians had a custom appointed by the oracles of the gods 600 years before, of sending two men in a ship, with six months' provisions, to sail to the south in search of a fortunate island, where the people were gentle and kind, and lived happy lives. — *Diod. Sic.* lib. ii. c. 4. *Herod. Euterp.* c. 39. *Parke's Travels*, p. 43. *Bruce*, i. 251.

[2] Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. c. 44.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

THAT the British Isles should have enjoyed so much credit, and been the subject of so many allusions in the writings of Grecian authors, need not be matter of astonishment, when it is considered that, according to the testimony of Diodorus, a frequent and familiar intercourse was maintained between the two countries,—an intercourse which was founded upon community of religious rites, through the medium of A-baris[1], and existed even from the earliest times; for their acquaintance began even before that first recorded voyage, beyond which all is darkness in the annals of Greece, the celebrated voyage of the Argonauts, which seemed so great a wonder to succeeding ages, on account of its length and its dangers, and the knowledge which it brought to light, that their indiscriminate admiration confounded it with the voyage of the Patriarchs over the waters of the Deluge, and bestowed upon the ship the name of Argo, or the Ark. Homer calls it the ship in which all have an interest[2]; and Virgil mentions

[1] Τοὺς ὑπερβορέους πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἰκειότατα διακεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Δηλίους, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων παρειληφότας τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς μυθολογοῦσι παραβαλεῖν εἰς ὑπερβορέους καὶ ἀναθήματα πολυτελῆ καταλιπεῖν· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀβαρὶν, &c. — *Diod. Sic.* lib. ii. p. 130.

[2] Ἀργὼ πασιμέλουσα. — *Odyss.* M. 70.

it as the type of all other ships[1]: but it would be a great mistake to suppose that it was the first, or even the largest, that had ever been constructed, for reasons which will presently appear. An Irish tradition of this voyage claims attention first, not on account of its clearness, for it is very indistinct; but some facts may be gleaned out of the confusion, which, by their coincidence with the statements of the classic authors, tend strongly to corroborate their truth in those points where they agree: for they are wholly independent witnesses, and neither can be supposed to have borrowed from the other, because the subject is history; and therefore, by how much the less the Irish tradition can boast of ornament or regularity, by so much the more it deserves credit, as having a groundwork of truth: for though it is sadly disfigured by the ignorance through which it has passed, yet it has not been perverted by the wantonness of poetry. Keating, then, who collected Irish history out of ancient records, relates that Niul, or rather the children of Niul, were driven from Armenia[2] and passed into the Euxine, where one of them Miless[3], the lord of the ship, married Scota, the daughter of the

1 Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quæ vehat Argo
Delectos heroas. — *Bucol.* iv. 34.

2 The translator of Keating maintains that Frange is Armenia, as well as France; when the king of Frange sent troops to Wexford, it must be the latter; but the history of the voyage necessarily implies the former.

3 Miles and Hercules are the same constellation. Vallancey quotes a line from a poem of Amergin in the book of Leacan. Tuatha mac Mileadh, Mileadh Longe Libearn; and translates it thus: Lords were the sons of Milesius, Milesius of the Libearn ship. Libearn is clearly the same as Liburna, the sacred ship of Isis, iv. 294.

king of Scythia, who was jealous of him, and was conquered by him. Now it is quite true, that the children of the Nile passed from the land of inundations into the Euxine, and settled among the Scythians at Colchi, which, it has been shown, was an Egyptian colony[1]; and Scota is Medea, whose father was conquered by Jason. They then sailed up the narrow sea, that divides Asia from Europe, keeping Europe on the left; or, as it is described in another place, the narrow sea that flows from the Northern Ocean. They staid a year in the island Chronia, which perhaps is Oesel, the island of El, or Cronus, or else Dago, the island of Dagon.[2] But a Caiker, or prophet, informed them that they would have no resting-place till they arrived at a certain western isle. They proceeded westward on their voyage, and landed at the island of Guthia, now Gothland; and then leaving Catria, the country of the Catti, on the left, they passed through the Cattegat, and keeping a south-west course, came to the Crutines or Picts, at a place called Alba; then leaving Breatan-mor, the greater Britain, on their right, they arrived at Erotha, the classic Erytheia, which is also called Anspain.[3] Vallancey would interpret this of Ireland, and lands the voyagers there at once. But it is more likely that the persons, who imported the knowledge of these facts, came at a subsequent period from Gades; whence they were called Gadeli. A

[1] Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 24.

[2] Dago is the name of a stone, worshipped by the natives of Easter Island in the Pacific. — *Faber's Orig. of Pag. Idol.* ii. 380.

[3] Vindic. of Ir. Hist. Collectanea, iv. 279. 292.

Spanish writer, Pedro Mexia, speaks of certain Spaniards who, understanding that divers of the Western Isles were empty, proceeded in sixty vessels to Ireland.[1] It does not follow from hence that they found it empty; but it proves the Spanish belief of an early transmigration to the Hesperides. It is not to be supposed that the same continuity of narrative is to be found in the Celtic historian, as in the description here given; but by comparing his loose statements, and assigning to each its proper place, evidence enough has been obtained to prove that Britain was visited by the adventurous Argonauts; and, by pursuing the inquiry further, we shall find sufficient warrant for the assertion of the poet, that Ireland was well known to the crew of Jason's ship[2]: for if we turn to the writers of Greece and Rome, they are almost unanimous in their testimony, that the Atlantic Ocean was explored by them. Pindar, indeed, mistook the site of the Hesperides, which he must have placed in Africa; for he sends his heroes there[3]; but still, even according to him, the Hesperides were the object of their voyage. For nothing could have induced him to send them to the Tritonian lake, except its vicinity to those Hesperian gardens. Valerius Flaccus knew that he ought to bring them somehow or other out of the Euxine into the Atlantic; but for that purpose, he pro-

[1] Vindic. of Ir. Hist. Collectanea, iv. 325.

[2] Illa ego sum Græcis olim glacialis Ierne
Dicta, et Jasoniæ puppis bene cognita nautis.
Hadrianus Junior, cited by Camden.

[3] Pind. Pyth. Od. iv.

poses a very singular course. He makes Erginus exhort his companions to ascend the Danube, till it carries them through by a regular stream, and transmits them into another sea.[1] An inscription, which Diodorus gives from an Egyptian column, may be charged with the same distortion of geography. Osiris there proclaims that he, the eldest son of Saturn, led an expedition to the uninhabitable places of India, and to those which lie towards the north, even as far as the fountains of the Ister, and to the Atlantic Ocean.[2] Osiris was the same as Nilus, which

Siris ab Æthiopum populis cognomine fertur.[3]

He is therefore the Niul of the Irish historian.[4]

Timagetus[5] maintained that they pursued the same track; but, in order to facilitate the exploit, he gives an explanation of it, which is obviously devised for the sole purpose of solving the difficulty of their acknowledged passage into the Atlantic. He says, that the Ister descends from Celtic mountains into the Celtic Lake, and from thence it is

[1] sequemur
Ipsius amnis iter donec nos flumine certo
Perferat, inque aliud reddat mare.
Argonaut. lib. viii. 189.

[2] Lib. i. p. 24. [3] Prisciani Periegesis.

[4] In his mythic character Osiris declares in the same inscription that there was no part of the earth which he had not visited, and to which he had not imparted benefits. When he says that Saturn was the youngest of all the gods, it seems to be implied that he was the only one with whose human character he was well acquainted.

[5] Scholiast. in Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut. lib. iv. Herodotus says that the Ister begins its course from the Celtæ and the city of Pyrene, lib. ii. p. 33. If this refers to the Pyrenæan mountains, the other branch would be the Garonne, which, as we have already shown, was the Eridanus flowing from Celtic mountains; and with some geographers the annihilation of space is nothing.

parted into two branches; one of which runs into the Euxine, and the other into the Celtic Sea. Scymnus[1] and Timæus[2] were of opinion that they took a longer route; that they ascended the Tanais, drew their vessel over land into the great sea, whence they proceeded from the north towards the west, and returned by Gades into the Mediterranean. They probably thought, like Aristotle[3], that a little above the Scythians and Celtice, the ocean, that is, the Atlantic, bounded the earth from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis to the Galatic or Celtic bay, and as far as the columns of Hercules. One of the arguments, by which they defended their belief in this course, was, that many Celtic places on the Atlantic derived their names from the Argonauts. Now Selden contends that Hertypoint, now Hartland-point, in Devonshire, has that name, because it is the promontory of Hercules[4], who, according to Dionysius, was the leader of the Argonauts[5]: and Diodorus seems to be of the same opinion[6]; which coincides also with the report of Apollodorus[7], that he once extended his voyage as far as the Fortunate Islands. Nevertheless, the assertion of his presence in the expedition is no doubt the invention of a later age, — a device of the party who afterwards introduced his name and his rites into the British Islands; for the

[1] Schol. in Ap. Rhod. ut supra. [2] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. 259.
[3] Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3.
[4] Britanniæ loca ab exterorum numinum vocabulis denominata esse, patet ex Herculis promontorio, quod nunc Hertypoint appellatur. — *De Diis Syr. Syntag.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 240.
[5] Dion. Hal. lib. i. p. 17. [6] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. p. 256.
[7] Apollod. Biblioth. lib. ii.

author of the Argonautic poem, attributed to Orpheus, or rather, to Onomacritus, who at all events is certainly a very ancient writer [1], judiciously takes care to drop him very early in the voyage. For the Argonauts were men of a very different stamp. They remembered the Ark in the name which they gave to their ship, and paid their vows to the Samothracian gods; and, after the termination of their voyage, the Phantasmagoria, exhibited by Medea, of the Moon coming from the Hyperborean people and drawn by dragons; the promise of regeneration to Pelias by immersion in the mystic cauldron; the capture of his city under the mask of an alliance with his family, signalised by kindling a fire on the highest part of the palace; and the final consecration of the ship to Neptune at the Isthmus of Corinth [2];

[1] Scriptor certe meo judicio vetustissimus est.— *Ruhnken. Epist. Crit.* ii. 128. He is quoted by the ancient grammarians Orus and Draco Stratonicensis. Pherecydes reports that Hercules was left behind at Aphetæ in Thessaly, because the speaking wood, that is, the oracle, had said he was too heavy: Demaretes allows him to go as far as Colchis. — *Apollod.* lib. i. p. 17.

[2] Neptune struggled to maintain his sovereignty at Corinth, as well as at Argos and Athens; and the fable that he retained possession of the Isthmus, when the lofty rock of the citadel was adjudged to the sun, is founded on no very dark tradition respecting the shining of the sun upon the mountain, long before the waters had entirely abandoned the plain of the Isthmus. On that plain, he held undisputed sway, of which there is proof enough in two immense tumuli with visible entrances, which, however, are not now open, and caves in the rocks, and a temple of his, which has not yet ceased to be a place of worship, and a bath, to which patients are still taken for relief from various disorders. — *Clarke's Travels*, vi. 563. But even on the top of the hill there is evidence that the cognate rites prevailed more than those of his rival the sun; for near the top of the cone Isis had two shrines; and Serapis two more; and Necessity and Violence had a Hieron, into which it was not lawful to enter; and above them there was a temple to the mother of the gods, and a Stele, and a seat of stone, and on the top of all a Naos of Venus. — *Pausan. Corinth.* c. 4.

— all these circumstances tend to show that they were decided Arkites. An apostacy, indeed, may be suspected in some of their posterity who lived in Lemnos, — an island where Vulcan or fire was a lame divinity, that is, not entirely and solely worshipped[1]; for there was a strong party in the island, of Pelasgi or Arkites, who drove away the degenerate Minyæ. The fugitives sought refuge in Sparta, where the Heraclidæ reigned; and announced the character of their party by kindling a fire. They were received; but the same factious disposition brought them into fresh troubles in their adopted country, and they were only rescued from condign punishment by the contrivance of their wives. Their ancestors, the original Minyæ, were equally ambitious, but not traitors to their faith. Coming from Thessaly, the scene of Deucalion's Deluge, they were hospitably received at Colchis[2]; till by various stratagems they contrived to get possession of the oracle, which yielded so much wealth to those who managed it, that it was called the golden fleece. The Arkite bulls were made subservient to their use; the Arkite dragon, the guardian of the oracle, was lulled to sleep; civil commotions were fomented about the honours to be paid to a rock, — perhaps a rocking stone; and at last they grew so troublesome, that they were obliged to fly.

[1] Herodot. lib. iv. sect. 145.

[2] The river of Colchis was the Phasis, of which Bochart says, that it is a vocabulum pro rivo vel flumine mere Syrum: and Dionysius says that it flowed from an Armenian mountain: Ἀρξάμενος τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' οὔρεος Ἀρμενίοιο. Dr. Goodenough, in his Memoir on the Euxine Sea, notices the constant recurrence of the figure of a fish on the coins of the Greek cities on that sea. In the earliest ages the works of art were often memorials of religious rites, or traditions.

But the Colchian ships prevented their return through the Hellespont, which is at once a sufficient proof that their Argo was not the first ship that had ever been constructed. Driven, therefore, to explore some other outlet they passed through the Cimmerian Bosphorus[1] into the Palus Mæotis, and ascended the Don, and perhaps the Volga; for when they came to a place where the channel was no longer navigable, and the banks were low, they crossed over into other rivers, and conveyed the boat over land, the timbers creaking as it was dragged along.[2] In this they resembled the ancient Saxons, of whom Sharon Turner says, that "for their peculiar vessels no coast was too shallow, no river too small: they dared to ascend the streams for eighty or a hundred miles; and if either plunder invited, or danger pressed, they carried their vessels from one river to another. Their vessels were framed of osiers, and covered with skins sewed to-

[1] The inhabitants of the peninsula washed by this Bosphorus being Cimmerians were connected with the Cimmerians of the West by similarity of rites; and therefore we hear of the Titan crossing the waters on his bull:

Βοοκλόπος Τιτὰν
Ταύρῳ ἐρεζόμενος βριαρῷ πόρον ἔσχισε λίμνης.
——— Πύματον δὲ βυθοῦ διαμείψαμεν ὕδωρ.

[2] Ὄχθῃσι χθαμαλῇσιν ἀποβλύει αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον
Ῥοίζῳ ἐλαυνομένη· καναχεῖ δὲ τοι ἄσπετος ὕλη·
Ἀρκτώοις περάτεσσιν ἐπέρχεται Ὠκεανόνδε.
Orph. Argonaut. 1068.

Strabo, xi. 773. Pompon. Mela, iii. 5., and Pliny, vi. 13. supposed the Caspian to be connected with the Northern Ocean by a narrow strait. If this was the poet's opinion, the overland journey would be only from the Tanais into the narrow strait, by which they must mean the Volga. Alexander built ships for the express purpose of ascertaining whether the Caspian was joined to the Euxine, or whether it was a bay of the Northern Ocean. — *Arrian.* lib. vii. c. 5.

gether, and in these they sported in the tempests of the German Ocean."[1] If such, however, was the structure of the Grecian Argo, it has not derived its renown from its magnitude; and the celebrity of its name must be accounted for in some other way. A similar mode of inland navigation[2] is still practised in the kingdom of Laos, a month's journey north of Judia, the capital of Siam. The country being intersected with mountains, and the waters obstructed by rocks, the vessels are conveyed across the heights, and from one river to another; for which purpose they are built in such a way as to be taken in pieces, and easily re-constructed.[3] And so too in North America, the canoes are often dragged over land a long distance at the Portages. In this way Argo passed through Sarmatia[4], and a great variety of Scythian tribes; and after nine days and nights of labour entered the Baltic through the mouth of some river[5] — the Neva, perhaps, or the Dwina. A similar voyage was prosecuted at a subsequent period by some Indian merchants from the Mæotian colony, who, being shipwrecked in the

[1] Sharon Turner's Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, ii. 3.

[2] The intercourse between the Baltic and the Black Sea at a later period is thus described by Gibbon: "Between the sea and Novogorod an easy intercourse was discovered through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes; at the deeper cataracts the mariners dragged their vessels six miles over land."— *Decline and Fall*, x. 225.

[3] Kæmpfer's Hist. of Japan, i. 15.

[4] Sarmatia—Europæa Scythia—a Vistula ad Asiæ terminos protracta, a meridie Daciam et Pontum Euxinum habuit, a Septentrione Oceanum et Finningiam. — *Cellarius*, p. 28.

[5] Ἀρπαχθεῖσα διὰ στόματος.

Adsuetumque petunt plaustris migrantibus æquor.
Val. Flac. Argon. viii. 201.

Baltic, were presented by the king of the Suevi to Celer, the proconsul of Gaul.[1] Argo, however, was more fortunate; and her subsequent course is thus described: — After leaving behind on the right, or on the left, sundry tribes, whose names it would be unprofitable to trace, and of whom it may suffice to say that some were Arctic, some Hyperboreans, and some Riphæans[2], she passed through a narrow channel into the ocean, which men call the Cronian, the Hyperborean, and the Dead Sea; that is to say, she passed either through the Belt, or the Sound, into the German Ocean. Then they were in danger; which Ancæus avoided by bringing the ship closer to the starboard shore; but there they got into such shoal water, that they were forced to leap into the sea, and drag the boat along by ropes. The sea was perfectly calm and still, and is called the extreme waters of Helice[3] and Tethys; extreme perhaps, because having cleared the promontory of Jutland, they altered their course, and steered to the west. In six days, they came to the Macrobii, to the Islands of the Blessed, where the people live to an extraordinary old age, free from all trouble; and when they have finished their ap-

[1] Pompon. Mela, p. 3. Plin. p. 2. Lardner's Geography.

[2] Rypen is still the name of a place in Jutland.

[3] If Heligoland were not too much to the south to be connected with the Cattegat, except by those who knew nothing of its real position, I should take it for the Helice, here mentioned. It has always been called Heilig, or sacred. It had temples built for an idol called Fo-seti; and the country was deemed so sacred, that none dared to touch any animal that fed on it, nor to draw water from a fountain which flowed there, unless in awful silence. — *Sharon Turner's Hist. of An. Sax.* ii. 15. For this distinction it could only be indebted to its aptitude as an Arkite emblem: it is an abrupt projection of rocks rising from the bosom of the waves.

pointed time, die by falling asleep. They live upon ambrosial dew, and vegetable food, and are very wise and just. Having passed these they come to the Cimmerii[1], who never see the sun; for the Riphæan and Calpian Mountains shut it out on the east; Phlegra on the south; and the Alps on the west. Next they come to a place, where Acheron pours its silver waters through a cold region into a black lake, and the trees on its banks are perpetually loaded with fruit, and there is the city of Erminia, inhabited by excellent people, who however could not have been very numerous; for one ship was enough to carry all their souls to Acheron: and near it were the gates of Hades, and the people of dreams.[2] At these places, they must have landed to obtain so much statistical information; but at length embarking again they hoist their sails with a west wind. In the mean time the Ismarian oak[3] begins to talk, and tells them that, unless they keep close to the sacred heights, when they come near to Ireland[4], she should assuredly run out into the Atlantic Ocean: and so they take to their oars, and row stoutly past Ireland[5]; and then a brisk gale blew from behind, and filled their sails, and carried them forward at a great rate. Thus they sailed twelve days not knowing where they were,

[1] Rudbeckius, the Swede, places Cimmerium in the northern part of Sweden.

[2] Ἄρρηκτοι τ' Ἀΐδαο πύλαι καὶ δῆμος ὀνείρων.

[3] The φηγος of the Greeks is a species of oak; and some have imagined that the Fagus of Cæsar, Virgil, and Vitruvius is not the beech, but a species of oak. — *Miller's Gard. Dict.*

[4] In the text the reading is νήεσσιν ἐριννύσιν; but Gesner very properly corrects it thus: νήσοισιν Ἰερνίσιν.

[5] Νῆσον Ἰερνίδα.

till the sharp-sighted Lynceus saw in the farthest parts of the Ocean the dark island, and the temple of Ceres. But Orpheus recommends them not to go there; because it has no shelter for ships, but a high precipitous rock runs all round. Wherefore they put about, and in three days reach the Lycæan shore of Circe, the daughter of Helius, where they are not allowed to land; and from thence, through the strait of Ternesus, arrive at the Pillars of Hercules.

We are not to expect the account of this ancient voyage to be as accurate as the log-book of Captain Parry: but from its leading features some plain facts may be collected. In the first place, those Fortunate Islands, so celebrated for their happiness and fruitfulness, where the people lived to so great an age[1], that they were poetically called immortal, and where the souls of the dead were received into their Tartarian abodes, and the bright sparkling waters of life ended their course in the cold dark shadow of death,—those islands in which, agreeably to the report of Plutarch, the destinies of the people were governed by the dreams of Saturn, were reached by traversing the German Ocean; to which, however contrary to the truth, an extraordinary tranquillity is attributed in compliance with the common belief, which gave it the name of Pigrum. The extensive sandbanks, which those who navigate it coast-wise must encounter, will sufficiently account for its alleged shallowness.

[1] Herodotus calls the Æthiopians Macrobii, lib. iii. c. 17.; and the Æthiopians were said to have colonised the Hesperides.

In the next place, they must have coasted along the shores of Scotland, till they reached the Orkneys; in one of which, at least, they would certainly find a spot, of which it may be truly said, that the sun never shines there, because it is encompassed by lofty hills on the east, and the south, and the west. All lofty hills were called Alpine, and Riphæan; and Phlegra seems to be introduced, only because it was associated with the story of the Giants: for in Hebrew they are called Rephaim; and therefore gigantic hills were Riphæan.[1] Both the Orkneys and the Hebrides were known and named by the ancients; for Demetrius notices that some of the scattered islets about Britain were named after Daimons and Heroes; and, accordingly, we have besides Man and Pomona, Hoy[2] named from Hu, Bute from Budha, Arran from Arawn, and Skye from Sakya; but these names were drawn from the east long before: at least, the Argonauts were not the first discoverers; for Orpheus, who represents the priest, and must have given the advice attributed to the Ismarian oak, seems to have been well acquainted with the navigation of those seas. The ship is called Ismarian, because Ismara was a city of Armenia; and it was from an Armenian mountain that the Phasis flowed

[1] When Pliny mentions the Riphæi Montes, lib. v. c. 27. Dalecampius observes: "Fallitur Plinius: nulli enim existunt Riphæi Montes." He is so far right: they were not locally any where. The name was equivalent to Alpine. In Isaiah, xxvi. 14., we read in our Version, "They are deceased; they shall not rise." The Hebrew for Deceased is Rephaim, which the Vulgate translates Gigantes — another connection between the Titanic mountains and the souls of the dead.

[2] Faber's Orig. of Pag. Idol. ii. 366.

through Colchis. It also flowed through the Circæan Plain [1]; and therefore the Argonauts were naturally disposed to touch at the Circæan shore, if they had been allowed to do so. That land might be Pico, one of the Azores, if they were at all places of resort for sacred purposes; and then they were not allowed to land, because the solar faction [2] had possession of it: at least it had a good right to be called Circæan; for Picus is said to have been changed into a bird by Circe for rejecting the advances of that daughter of the sun [3], and from that time till its rediscovery by the Flemings, birds seem to have been its only inhabitants. The Circensian games were instituted at first in honour of Neptune, till the usurping sun took part of his honours to himself; and this explains the boon which Circe craved of Picus: "Attend," she said, with oracular ambiguity, — "attend to our flames, and accept the sun for your father-in-law, and be not so hard-hearted as to despise the Titanian Circe." [4]

[1] Ἐνθά τε Φᾶσις
Κιρκαίου κατὰ νῶτον ἑλισσόμενος πεδίοιο. — *Dionys. Periegetes.*

[2] Lycæus was a cognomen of Apollo.

[3] Ovid. Met. lib. xiv. fab. 7. We learn from Plutarch enough to show that Picus was an Arkite. He and Faunus were demigods frequenting Mount Aventine, which abounded in springs of water. They were like the Titans; but in magic skill resembled the Idæi Dactyli, who went from Mount Ida to Samothrace. Numa having caught them by a drink of wine and honey, when they could not escape, notwithstanding the various forms which they assumed, compelled them to reveal to him secrets and charms, (*Life of Numa,*) *i. e.* he made the priests drunk with mead, and so got at a knowledge of their mysteries.

[4] Consule nostris
Ignibus, et socerum qui prævidet omnia Solem
Accipe, nec durus Titanida despice Circen.
Ovid. Metam. lib. xiv. fab. 7.

Originally, therefore, she belonged to the Arkites; and in that character, Homer makes her send Ulysses to the abodes of the dead, and the river Acheron, to consult a seer; for being entirely the creature of fable, a little anachronism about her is a licence, that may be granted to a poet. It was not till afterwards, that she claimed affinity with the sun; for in Diodorus, Medea is her sister.[1] Sharon Turner observes, that "the idol most eminent among the Saxons on the Continent, was Irminsula, or Hermansul; which is literally, The Pillar of the Lord, the Moon, or the Lord Man; for the image was raised upon a marble column."[2] Now the pillar and the moon were both Celtic idols. By the same rule of interpretation, therefore, the city of Erminia is the City of the Lord, the Moon, and probably signifies Mona; either the island of Anglesey, or of Man. They had a goddess Hera, who was believed to fly about in the air the week after their Yule, or between our Christmas and Epiphany; and abundance was thought to follow her visit.[3]

Now Hera seems to have been a title for the moon; but she does not fly in the air more at that time than any other: and certainly it is not the season of natural abundance. But the commencement of the year, which opened upon those who had been confined during twelve months in the Ark, was marked by extraordinary abundance of fertility; and for that reason, Ceres had a temple

[1] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. p. 253. [2] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 19.
[3] Ibid. p. 17.

in almost every sacred island. The genius of the Ark, therefore, hovered over those spots, about the time when her rockings upon the mountain where she grounded were terminated; and when, in addition to the Indian names of islands already noticed, we compare her name with that of the crescent-bearing Mahadeva of the Hindoos, Heri, or Hara; and when we take into the account their common affinity to the Latin Herus, Lord; and when we recollect that Isis is the name of an English river, and that Niul, or Nilus, led a colony into Ireland; we cannot fail to be struck by this confirmation of the statement in Diodorus, that Osiris extended his conquests as far as India, and to the northern parts of the Atlantic.[1] Upon the hypothesis that the Azores, though not inhabited (of which there seems to be no doubt), yet were known to exist, it may be presumed that the Dark Island, in which Ceres had an extensive temple, and of which the experienced Orpheus warned the mariners to beware, because it was surrounded by precipitous rocks, which afforded no shelter to ships, must have been Tercera (Terra Cereris), which is actually surrounded by craggy rocks, rendering it almost inaccessible. Mandelsloe, who visited it in 1639, complains that there was "no safe road or harbour there, except at

[1] Madan, who travelled in the East, observes that he was frequently surprised to find a strong analogy between many of the customs of the Irish and Oriental people, i. 126. The whole mythus of the expedition of Osiris is nothing more than a figurative representation of the spread of Egyptian religion and civilisation. — *Heeren's Reflections on Africa, &c.* ii. 123.

the city of Angra, nor that at all times, though the port is inclosed like a crescent, by two mountains advancing very deep into the sea. The city of Angra has obtained its name from its situation, in the form of a crescent; this word being used by the Portuguese to express the figure of the new moon."[1] Since, then, its recent inhabitants and visiters have discovered in its outline so strong a resemblance to a crescent, it is no wonder that the Arkite navigators, in passing by, concluded it to be a huge ship-temple, — the temple of Ceres, or Despoina, which is the same in Greek as Hera is in Latin: for she was also Demeter, or the mother of the existing race of men; and Statius gives her the epithet of Infernal, to identify her with Hecate, the moon of Tartarus.[2] But what has the moon to do with the infernal regions? How comes she there? We might suppose that the ancient poets had in their view the device of an Italian painter, who, wishing to represent Hell, has drawn a boat in the form of a crescent, navigating a lake, on which these words are written: "Qui sono puniti gli iracondi.[3] From her resemblance to ships so formed, Alexander of Lycopolis calls the moon the Ship of the Waters of Life[4]; and the form was long retained, not only in boats, but in vessels of considerable magnitude. The New World was

[1] Voyages and Observations of J. A. de Mandelsloe in Harris's Collection, i. 805.

[2] Theb. v. 156.

[3] A Fresco painting by Andre Orgagna in the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. — *Gallery of Florence.*

[4] Navis vitalium aquarum, c. 3.

discovered in ships of that construction; for of the three ships that formed the expedition of Columbus, two were caravels without any deck in the centre, but built up high at the prow and stern.[1] On this principle, it is easy to understand why the same person was at once the Hierophant of Hecate[2], and the priest of Isis, whose Bari was so sacred. The residence of Ceres, in the Dark Island, has been transferred to some part of the British Isles, by those who give no credit to the Argonauts for accuracy in their account[3]; and though the locality is a mistake, yet it is an acknowledgment, that the narrative admits not only a previous acquaintance with those islands, but also a conviction that their inhabitants were connected with the Arkite Greeks by a community of rites and mysteries. Some evidence to that effect has been already adduced; and in the further progress of our inquiry, the nature of that connection, and its dependence upon a common origin, will become still more apparent. In the meantime, it may be observed, that the date of the Argonautic expedition is not very satisfactorily determined: the record on which chronologers usually rely is that of the Arundel Marbles; but for very remote events, their authority is very uncertain. The Parian Marbles, says Ideler[4], we may justly conclude, were the work of some private person

[1] Irving's Life of Columbus, i. 181.

[2] An altar was dedicated Diis Magnis by a man who styles himself Archibuculus Dei Liberi, Hierofanta Hecatæ, Sacerdos Isidis; and he vows to sacrifice bicornes. — *Gruter's Inscriptions*, i. 17.

[3] Camden's Britannia.

[4] Lehrbuch der Chronologie, von Dr. Ludwig Ideler, p. 162.

in Paros. They mention 1318 years since Cecrops ruled at Athens. These years were evidently reckoned backward from that in which Diognetus was Archon (264 B. C.). Sir Isaac Newton brings it down several centuries lower than the usual computation: he places it forty-four years after the death of Solomon (931 B. C.). Homer certainly treats it more like an historical fact than as a fable, which gives the lower computation an air of probability.

CHAP. XIX.

SACRED MOUNTAINS IN ARMENIA, POLYNESIA, ARABIA INDIA, AFRICA, AND AMONG THE JEWS. — EXPLANATION OF PASSAGES IN EZEKIEL, XLVII. AND XLVIII. — THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, AND THEIR HIGH PLACES.

In order to form a better judgment of the real origin and primary destination of those Celtic monuments before enumerated, it will be necessary to go back again to the cradle of the postdiluvian world, and to see how far the religion of succeeding ages was stamped with veneration for the mountain, whose lofty recesses were the harbour in which their ancestors tasted the first transports of deliverance from their long confinement, and from the perils of the destroying ocean. The surrounding nations have always attested their belief of that fact by the names which they have given to the mountain. The Persians call it Koh Nuh, the Mountain of Noah; the Turks call it Saad Depe, the Blessed Mountain: another name for it is Masis Thamanim[1], the Mountain of the Eight; for Thaman is said in the ancient language of the country to signify eight, like the Hebrew Shaman.[2] There is a town

[1] One Mahometan tradition transfers the mountain to Kurdistan, and calls it Al Judi; a corruption probably from Giordi, the Gordiæan mountain; and there it places the village of Thamanîn, or the Eighty; for it is supposed that there were seventy-two believers besides the eight. Another tradition names Mount Masis twelve leagues S. E. of Erivan, called by the Turks Aghir Dagh, the Heavy or Great Mountain. — *Koran*, xi. 46.

[2] Boch. Geog. Sac. lib. i. p. 18.

of the same name at the foot of the mountain, which is said to have been built by Noah: it must be the Cemainum of Rubruquis, which he interprets in the same sense; but, according to the natives, the true name of the mountain is Nachidshevan, the first place of descent: and Le Clerc attributes the same etymology to Ararat.[1] The French monk, who travelled there about the middle of the thirteenth century, writes thus concerning it:—"There are two mountains on which they say the Ark of Noah rested—one greater than the other, and Araxes running at the foot of them: and there is a little town there, called Comanium, which is in their language eight; for they say it was so called of the eight persons, which came forth of the Ark, and built it. Many have attempted to climb the great hills and could not. A certain old man gave me this worthy reason why no one should climb it: they call that mountain Massis; and as this word is of the feminine gender in their tongue, no man, said he, must climb up Massis, because it is the mother of the world."[2] Setting aside the puerile conceit about the gender, we see here the true reason why Demeter was worshipped in Greece, and Magna Mater by the Romans; and it is evident, that the two mountains were in reality two lofty peaks, or horns of one ridge. The traveller further relates, with all becoming gravity, that a certain monk, who was inconsolable at not being able to reach the spot, was comforted by an

[1] הר ירד, the mountain of descent. ה for א Samarit. i. 72. So Josephus says, that the Armenians called it ἀποβατήριον.

[2] Travels of William de Rubruquis in Harris's Collection, i. 588.

angel, who brought him a piece of the Ark, which was still preserved in an adjoining church. That the lovers of holy relics should lend a ready ear to such a tale, is nothing wonderful; but authors, who had no such predilections, have testified that its remains were visible in their days. Abydenus says, that the people of the country used to get some small pieces of the wood, which they carried about by way of amulet; and Berosus mentions, that they scraped off the Asphaltus, with which it had been covered, and used it in like manner for a charm.[1] It may be they were deceived; but even their credulity proves that the tradition was firmly rooted in the belief of the natives, and that a peculiar sanctity was attributed to its remains. Bochart, therefore, needed not to go further than the Ark to discover his Armenian deity, entitled Baris[2]; nor to perplex himself with discovering a cause for the same denomination being given to Ararat: since it is infinitely reasonable, that the mountain, which bore the ark, should also bear its name. A remarkable analogy occurs in a remote quarter of the world, where no such analogy could have been expected—in one of the South Sea Islands. A mountain ridge has received the appellation of the Pahi, or ship of Hiro; and a large basaltic rock, near the summit of a mountain in Huahine, is

[1] Bryant's Mythology, ii. 217.

[2] Ὁ Ἄβος παρὰ τὸν τῆς Βάριδος νέων.—*Strabo, in Armeniæ Descript.* lib. xi. De cætero nos latet, cur Baris vocetur ille mons, in quo substitit area; an a Græcis inditum nomen, apud quos βάρις barbari navigii genus est? aut ab Armeniis qui deam coluerunt hujus nominis? —*Boch. Geog. Sac.* lib. i. c. 3.

called the Hoe, or paddle of Hiro. The history of this personage shows, that he was the Genius of the Ark: for he was deemed a god of the ocean; and the most romantic accounts are given of his voyages, his combat with the god of the tempests, his descent to the depths of the ocean and intercourse with monsters there, by whom he was lulled to sleep in a cavern, while the gods of the winds raised a violent storm to destroy a ship, in which his friends were voyaging.[1] Another version of the same story at Tahiti, or, as Captain Cook writes it, Otaheite, in some points more exact, but in others still deviating widely from the truth, is nevertheless sufficient to show, that a tradition of the Deluge had certainly reached Polynesia. The god Ruahatu, it is said, having declared that the land was criminal and should be destroyed, was moved by the penitence of a fisherman, who implored forgiveness, and told him to return for his wife and child, and proceed to a small island near Raiatea. He took with him a friend, a dog, and a pig, and a pair of fowls, the only domesticated animals in the islands. When they had reached the refuge appointed, the waters of the ocean began to rise. The inhabitants of the adjacent shore fled to the mountains, the tops of which, however, were covered by the rising waters, and all the inhabitants of the land perished. The ark, in which these individuals are said to have been preserved, is a small low coralline island, the highest parts of which are not more than two feet above the level of the

[1] Ellis's Polynesian Researches, ii. 195.

water.[1] Yet their belief was not shaken by the difficulty. The nearly-submerged island was so much better adapted to represent the summit of the mountain, which first appeared above the waves, that its comparative lowness, in relation to the larger islands, was a matter of inferior moment: and the preservation of the pious fisherman and his family, together with all the known animals, from a deluge sent to punish the wickedness of the world, is a striking copy from the original truth. Nor is the preservation of this tradition so much a subject of surprise, when the habits of the people are taken into consideration; for although they had no records, yet they had traditionary ballads[2], which were a kind of standard authority for the purpose of determining any disputed fact in their history; and a reference to one of their popular songs often set the matter in dispute at rest.[3] There is no reason, therefore, to doubt that the ship of Hiro was the Baris of Ararat, — the same deity, whom the Indians represented sitting in an Ark, or sanctuary[4], on the top of a many-peaked

[1] Ellis's Polynesian Researches, ii. 59.

[2] Burckhardt's testimony shows how easily in the East even long poems may be handed down through successive ages by memory. "I never met," says he, "with one individual among the Arabs, who professed to know even as much as myself of Arabic reading; and there are whole tribes, of which not one person can read or write: yet of ancient poetry, the History of Antar, and three or four similar compositions, are known to a few individuals, and occasionally recited. — *Notes on the Bedouins and Arabs,* p. 74.

[3] Ellis's Pol. Res. i. 286.

[4] The sanctuary of Parvati, *i. e.* the mountain-born, is surmounted by a cupola, which rises out of leaves like the Lotus.— *Moor's Hind. Panth.* pl. 30. On one side of the Vihari, or houses of Boudha, there is always a monument in the form of a cupola placed on a moulded pedestal. — *As. Res.* vii. 423.

mountain, up which the three principal objects of their worship, Siva, Vishnu, and Brahma, are seen climbing in order to propitiate her. She was the Youmala[1], or golden woman of the Samoeydes, and Chinese; for the sacred mountain of the Hindoos, which must be looked for among the Himala, has a pointed summit of pure gold, and the holy trees, Peipel, Ber, and Paer, flourish on its brow.[2] The two last of these mystic trees seem to be mere corruptions of Bari.

The three deities climbing up the Indian mountain were of course the priests who represented them; for the temples of Boudha were commonly called the houses of the priests[3]; and it may be presumed, that the custom which prevailed in Japan was practised generally in the East, wherever Arkite mountains existed, before the period at which the Brahmins introduced their innovations and metaphysical refinements: for the Boudhists say, that they and their rites were not known in India till about the second century before Christ.[4] In Japan there were two orders of the Jammabos, or mountain priests. Those called Tosanfa must once a year climb up to the top of Ficoosan, a very high mountain, which has this singular property, that all who presume to ascend it, labouring under any degree of impurity, are punished for their rashness by being possessed with the devil, and become

[1] Life of Reginald Heber, p. 98.
[2] From the Bhushanda Ramayan. — *Sir W. Jones*, xi. 245.
[3] Vihare: their other names were Bauddestaneh and Maleegawa. — *As. Res.* vii. 39.
[4] Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p. 238.

mad: the others, Fonsanfa, must once a year visit in pilgrimage the grave of their founder at the top of another mountain [1], which, by reason of its height, is called Omine. They, too, must expect to be punished by sickness, or some considerable misfortune, if they are not properly purified beforehand. Fusi Jamma is another holy mountain, which they are obliged to climb in the sixth month, frequently washing themselves with water.[2] These mountains were all sacred; but, as far as we can judge from Kæmpfer's account, not on account of any idol or temple that belonged to them. It was a duty to ascend them only inasmuch as they were memorials of crime, and punishment, and purification; and if the person, whom he mentions as their founder, was really some holy man, like St. Francis or St. Dominic, whose rules they followed, it was not his grave that sanctified the mountain, but his remains were there interred, because it was a sacred place before. No other motive can be assigned for choosing such an inconvenient situation: but perhaps the founder was no other than the second founder of the human race; for since Jamma signifies a mountain, Giambu dwipa may be interpreted the region of the mountain; and that part of it, which was called Himalé Vani, was considered the abode of the Spirits[3]: which may

[1] Thus, too, the Arab burial-grounds in Hedjaz, on the Red Sea coast, in southern Syria, in Egypt, and Nubia, are generally on or near the summit of mountains. — *Burckhardt's Notes*, p. 280. This must have been vastly inconvenient if the site had not been sacred.

[2] Kæmpfer's Hist. of Japan, p. 233.

[3] Asiat. Res. vii. 407.

easily have arisen from the belief, that the high land to the north-west of India was Noah's place of sepulture [1], according to the legend preserved by Eutychius, that his body was deposited in the same cavern of the mountain of Paradise, in which Adam's body was laid.[2] An allusion to the same mountain of expiation and purification is to be found in a Sanscrit inscription, which mentions "the holy temple, that destroyeth sin in a place in Jumboodweep, where the mind being steady it obtains its wishes, and in a place where it may obtain salvation, reputation, and enjoyment, where the place of Bouddha, purifier of the sinful, is renowned."[3] It is true, that a temple is here mentioned; but the temple is also the place of Bouddha; and Mr. Joinville says that these temples are generally built in the caves of rocks.[4] Jambu is written in Thibet Zambu, and is there taken for a mysterious tree of enormous size, from the roots of which the four rivers of Paradise flow.[5] The tree therefore is in effect a wooden pillar, a representative of the mountain; and thus we gain an explanation of another passage recorded in the Asiatic Researches: "Adored be the God Sambhu, on whom the city of three worlds rested in the beginning as on its main pillar, and whose lofty head is adorned with a crescent."[6] The three worlds, it will be recol-

[1] Captain Wilford observes, that, according to the Pauranies and followers of Buddha, the Ark rested on the mountain of Argavarta — an appellation which has no small affinity to the Araraut of Scripture. — *As. Res.* vi. 524.

[2] Faber's Origin of Pagan Idolatry, i. 334.

[3] Asiat. Res. i. 287.

[4] Ibid. vii. 423.

[5] Fab. Pag. Idol. i. 325.

[6] As. Res. iii. art. 3.

lected, were the antediluvian, the diluvian, and the postdiluvian states of the world; and the pillar with a crescent resting on its head was Ararat. The same word Jamma, which is perhaps derived from Jamim[1], the mountain of waters, may be recognised again in the Arabian festival Giuma, which was not instituted by Mohammed, but allowed to remain. It was of far earlier date; and, according to Selden, was dedicated to the horned Urania[2], who was the same as the golden woman of the Samoeydes, the Anadyomene of the Greeks rising out of the waters, the mountain Atlas bearing the sphere, and the pillar of Thibet crowned with a crescent: for the Mahommedans, although holding images in utter abhorrence, still pay honour to the mountain and the crescent. The latter adorns their mosques, and in general holds the place which the cross occupies among Christians.

It was one of the principal objects of worship, in the original Caaba, at Mecca, which, the Persians say, was built by Mahahbad, the first man of the present age, and denominated Abad. On account of the remarkable image of the moon which it contained, the place was called Mahgah, or the Residence of the Moon, and she was also enshrined at Medina, to which she has given her name, — Mahdeenah, or the Moon of Religion.[3] But the other object of worship was a black pillar,

[1] יָמִים, aquæ.

[2] Feriâ sextâ Uraniæ corniculatæ sacrum; a corniculatâ ejus et vetustissimâ effigie lunularum apud eos honos manasse videtur. — *De Diis Syriis*, p. 291.

[3] Akhteristan in Gladwin's Asiatic Miscellany.

which, perhaps, supported the crescent, and which the Hindoos call the Linga of Mahadeva. They say, that when Mohammed rebuilt the Caaba, it was placed in the wall out of contempt; but the pilgrims would not give up an adoration which had so long been practised [1]: and to this day, it is kissed by all who visit the Caaba. Al Shahrestani says that the temple at Mecca was dedicated to Zohal, or Kyevun, who is the same with Saturn; and the author of the Dabistan declares that the black stone was the image of Kyevun [2], the Irish Kievin, in Scripture called Chyun, and Remphan, which is interpreted, the God of Time, and consequently the same as Mahadeva and Saturn. But as to its being a part of the Phallic worship, it is a mere invention of the Brahmins; for even in India [3], in those parts to which Brahminical corruptions had not found their way, the black pillar-stone was worshipped with certain peculiarities, which determine its origin, and prove that it had no relation to their monstrous speculations. The Demauno, or priest, pretends to be directed by a vision to the spot, where it lies in concealment; water is then poured over it in large quantities, and it is raised through the inundated soil, and

[1] Gibbon observes, that the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the reproach of an idolatrous origin, ix. 248. Great must have been the perplexity of the philosophic historian, when, to account for the sanctity of the rocks in the desert, he supposed them to be imitations of the black stone, which they did not resemble either in colour or dimensions: both it and they had a more rational origin.

[2] Asiat. Res. iv. 388.

[3] Among the inhabitants of the hills, near Rajamahall.

set up under a large tree, and inclosed by a fence of stones, and a hedge of Seege[1]; and the person who prays at that shrine must have no connexion with the other sex: for it is profaned by any act of uncleanness.[2] In like manner, the two huge blocks of black and shapeless stone, pointed out to Captain Mackenzie near Caliture, or Deogamme, could only have been objects of veneration, because the one was quite surrounded by the river, and the other almost.[3] The black stone of the Caaba seems to have transmitted its claims of purity to the whole sanctuary, of which it forms a part; for we are told that few of the pilgrims are willing to go into the interior[4], though it is supposed to have great efficacy in the remission of all past sins; because he who enters it, not only binds himself to a life of contemplation and imperturbability, but must never again touch any thing that is unholy or impure. There are two wells in the neighbourhood, which are regarded with very opposite sentiments by the pilgrims, on account of the different religious aspects under which they are viewed: in the one instance, water being regarded as the instrument of destruction, and in the other of purification.

[1] Perhaps the Seedee tree, of which branches are used on that occasion; some sacred wood, which brings to mind the Caer Sidi of the Celts.

[2] Asiat. Res. iv. 49. [3] As. Res. vi. 446.

[4] The inclosure of the Kaaba is a vast paved court, with doorways opening into it from every side, and with a covered colonnade, carried all round like a cloister. In the midst stands the Kaaba, of a square form, covered with hangings of black velvet. It is opened only once in a year. — *Travels of Giovanni Finati*, vol. i. ch. 5.

The former is now filled up, because it labours under the curse of Mohammed [1]; and therefore every one throws a stone upon the spot. Wells are not usually the subject of execration in Arabia, and therefore the abhorrence attached to it must have some mysterious motive. However, it is possible that Mohammed may have found it unseasonably dry, and so bestowed upon it a hearty malediction. But the other well is under no obligations to Mohammed for the virtues of its waters, which wipe out the stain of all past transgressions [2]; for the Hindoos claim both it and the temple as the property of Mahadeva [3], "On whose head shines Ganga, the daughter of Jahnu, resembling the pure crescent rising from the summit of Sumeru." [4] The well Zem-zem, no doubt, belonged to the primitive rites of the commemorative Mount. There are three of this description in the neighbourhood of Mecca: one of them is called Djibbel Nor, — a name which Finati renders the Hill of Light, and attributes to its remarkable whiteness. But the sound is at least equivocal, and it may signify the hill of Noah. The pilgrims are accustomed to leap upon it, which may have been originally a token of joy for deliverance from danger and confinement. The second hill is smaller, and about a mile distant from Mecca; but many resort to it, and it has a small mosque upon

[1] Giovanni Finati, vol. i. ch. 5. [2] Ibid.

[3] Mahadeva was God of the temple and well at Mocchesa, believed to be Mecca, which was besieged by the Danavas. — *As. Res.* iii. 115.

[4] In a Sanscrit grant of land. Ibid. i. 357.

it, which is reputed to be a place of great sanctity. But the hill of most importance is in the centre of a valley, at the distance of a seven hours' journey from Mecca[1], and therefore owes nothing to the prophet: its name is Arafat, which seems to be something intermediate between the Armenian Ararat and the Indian Argavarta; and the Wahabys, who are a sect that objects to the veneration paid to Mohammed, show their attachment to their ancient institutions, by recommending the faithful to visit the Kaaba, and to keep up the great sacrifice upon Mount Arafat, called Corban.[2] But the pilgrimage ends not even here — it proceeds till it arrives at a stone pillar[3], which is said to be a work of the devil, that is to say, it belonged to the ancient superstition, and therefore was abused by the Mohammedan priests. Mohammed himself, however, had not the same dislike to those ancient monuments. Two of them, he declares, in the Koran, to be the monuments of God — Safa and Merwah. Now Safa we may conclude to be the Sabhâ of the Hindoos, which, according to Captain Wilford, was the name given by them to Meru; because the congregation of the gods is held there on its north side: and hence he thinks Isaiah introduces Lucifer boasting that he would exalt his throne above the stars of God, and sit on the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north.[4] In what sense Mohammed meant that

[1] Giovanni Finati, vol. i. ch. 5. [2] Burckhardt's Travels.

[3] About six feet high, and two square. — *Travels of Ali Bey*, ii. 72.

[4] Asiat. Res. vii. 283. Isaiah, xiv. 13.

mount to be considered a monument of God, his own language respecting the Ark will best determine. In the Koran, he introduces God speaking thus: "We delivered him (Noah) and those who were in the Ark, and we made the same a sign unto all nations." [1] And again, "We bare him in a vessel composed of planks and nails, and we left the said vessel for a sign; but is any one warned thereby?" [2] And this will explain why, in enumerating the signs to people of understanding — the signs, that is, of his power and providence, the rest being all works of nature, — the heaven and the earth, the night and the day, rain-water and the clouds — the only other thing which he names is the ship which saileth in the sea, laden with what is profitable to man.[3]

As the representative of the Ark was a sign, so was the representative of the mountain; and hence the Sabian Arabs, who went on a pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran in Mesopotamia, had also a great respect for the pyramids of Egypt.[4] It is obvious, that the Arabs had ancient traditions of their own respecting the Deluge, which could not have been derived from the Jews; for the Koran mentions an unbelieving son of Noah, who tried in vain to save himself on a mountain; and other Arabian books affirm that his mother Wâila perished with him. Perhaps Wâila is nothing more

[1] Sale's Koran, vol. ii. ch. 29. [2] Ibid. ch. 54.
[3] Ibid. i. 28.
[4] Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 22. They fancied them to be the sepulchres of Seth and his two sons, Enoch and Sabi; that is, of those persons in whom they were supposed to reappear.

than the Indian Ila, that is, the earth; for Indian names have extended much further westward; and a remarkable combination of names connecting the east with the west is to be found in central Africa. There, as well as at the head of the Ganges, we meet with the Mandara Mountains; and as Mandara was the seat of Mahadeva adorned with the crescent, so these are the mountains of the moon, El Gibel Gumhr[1], and the name of one of them is Mona. When the mountain Mandara was employed to churn the agitated ocean, Mahadeva obtained the moon for his share[2]; and whoever has seen the Indian delineation of the mountain on that occasion cannot fail to recognise it in the club of the Western Hercules. On this principle some ancient devices exhibited in Montfauçon's Antiquities are capable of explanation, which would be quite unintelligible without it. On one medal, for instance, the club is represented standing upright on a mass of rock, on which Hercules rests his foot.[3] On another it is in the same position, but his own club is in his hands; so that it must have had a mysterious import separate from its use as a weapon. A German idol in bronze leans upon a club of enormous size[4],

[1] 10° N. L. — *Denham's Travels in Central Africa*, vol. i. c. 5. p. 313. 332. Gumhra alone may mean the Mountain of the Moon, if Giuma be the same as Jamma, with the addition of the Celtic Re, Moon. Mandara is in effect much the same as Jammabo: for the ecclesiastical sovereign in Japan is sometimes called Fo, and sometimes Dari; and Maen in Celtic is a rock. — *Recherches Philosophiques, par M. de Paw*, tom. ii.

[2] Ward's Mythology of the Hindoos. [3] Tom. xi. pl. 53.

[4] Elle est extrêmement grosse, et toute hérissée à un bout de nœuds; on appelloit en Alleman cette idole Krutzman, un gros homme, tom. xii. p. 231.

and as craggy as the Indian mountain; and on another medal the club alone is the subject of the device: but two large leaves are seen growing from its summit with a Caduceus between them, and at the bottom two spikes of corn spring out on either side. It is infinitely absurd to suppose, that the club was for its own sake, or merely as a club, an object of worship or veneration. But it might justly claim a share of honour, if it was the lofty mount on which the Ark, that surmounted the globe so long surrounded by Typhonic waters, finally rested at the time when vegetation had just recommenced; when the trees of the hill resumed their foliage, and the plains produced corn again. On this account the mountain alone is sometimes distinctly the object of adoration: it was enshrined in the temple of Diana Pergæa, which is remarkable, says the antiquary, for the rocks piled one upon another, which appear in the middle of it[1]; and on another medal a sugar-loaf mountain[2] is receiving libations from the pateras of a priest and a priestess, with a head-dress like that of the Phrygians. Montfauçon observed, that the patera was continually in the hands of personages whom he took for gods; and he could not imagine why, unless they were supposed to be instructing mankind in what way the divinity ought to be honoured.[3] If this were the case, it must be owned that they acted in the

[1] Montfauçon, tom. iii. pl. 15. p. 87.

[2] Une montagne qui est presque faite en pain de sucre, or, as he explains himself more accurately in Latin, sublimis, acutus, et conicæ pene figuræ, tom. xi. pl. 81. p. 224.

[3] Tom. ii. p. 285.

present instance with a very becoming modesty, knowing that the divinity of the mountain was more ancient than their own. But the truth is, that the priests on such occasions played the part of the gods, and adopted any devices or disguises that they liked, and hence arose another circumstance, which the same writer has observed — that "the gods often lend their symbols to one another; for which it is not always easy to give a reason."[1] But the object, to which sacrifice was offered, was unquestionably esteemed divine; and it would be hard to discover a sound reason for pouring water on a mimic mountain as a sacred rite, if the memory of the Deluge is to be excluded. The Cappadocian coins frequently exhibit a lofty and very steep mountain, as if it were a tutelary Genius; the name of which is plainly derived from the Ark, Mons Argæus[2]: and in one case Jupiter is represented on the top without his thunder, that is to say, as an ordinary man; and on each side the sun and moon. It is therefore the figure of the man, whose worship was soon associated with the worship of those heavenly bodies. It has been shown that mountains were held to be sacred in every quarter of the ancient world; Atlas, and Athos, and Ida, and Olympus, and Taurus, and Caucasus, and Mandara, and many more which need not be recapitulated here, were the themes of many a mys-

[1] Montfaucon, tom. ii. p. 285.

[2] Mons Argæus omnium altissimus ac maxime arduus solemne est Cæsariensium Cappadociæ insigne, quem frequenter exhibent in nummis tanquam peculiare numen. — *Museum Florentinum*, tom. ii. pl. 73. p. 120.

terious legend, and clothed with circumstances of religion, which point to a common origin: and when we hear that the Persians were accustomed to go to the highest tops of the mountains in order to sacrifice [1], and that the summits of the hills in India are crowned with Pagodas [2], the extreme inconvenience, which must have resulted from the execution of such designs, shows how deeply the impression of their sacredness was engraved on the belief of mankind. And since Saturn is so generally acknowledged to be Noah, and so much proof of it has been already adduced, that their identity may be fairly assumed, it is impossible to doubt, that they were deemed sacred from their connection with his altar, and his Ark, on the first mountain known to the postdiluvians, when we find that rocks and hills were distinguished by the name of Saturn [3], and that his property in them was acknowledged even after the commemorative rites peculiar to his worship were abolished, and a new set of idols had taken up their residence on the high places, from which he was banished.

If the universal sanctity of mountains is to be inferred by induction from multiplied particulars, that branch of the subject cannot be better concluded, than with M. De Gebelin's summary of facts. The Celts, says he, that is, the inhabitants

[1] Herodot. lib. i. c. 131. Xenoph. Cyrop. p. 8.

[2] Pearson's Memoirs of Swartz, i. 154. Chateaubriand observes that most of the promontories of the Peloponnesus, of Attica, Ionia, and the islands of the Archipelago, were crowned with temples or tombs. — *Travels in Greece*, i. 252.

[3] Κρόνιον ναίων λόφον. — *Pind. Olymp.* Od. 5.
Ὑψηλοῖο πέτραν ἠλίβατον Κρονίου. — Ibid. Od. vi. 109.

of the British Isles and the Western coasts of France, loved the locality of mountains for their worship, no less than lakes and rivers. The Pelasgi consecrated to Jupiter in lieu of images (pour simulacre) the summit of high mountains, and there they erected altars; for which reason he was called Jupiter Epacrius, the god of high summits. The Spaniards had a sacred mountain, the soil of which was not to be disturbed; the Gauls had a sanctuary consecrated to Jupiter, upon the highest of the Alps and Apennines. The Peligni did the same at Pallene, and the aborigines of Italy at Soracte, and Algidum. The Getæ had their sacred mountain, where their sovereign sacrificer resided. The Thracians likewise had one, of which they were deprived by Philip; and Strabo believed that all the sacred mountains of Greece were consecrated by the Thracians[1], when they were masters of the country. Nothing was more famous among the Phrygians than their mountains consecrated to Cybele: the Persians and the Canaanites had the same custom; and even the Hebrews worshipped on high places, till they got possession of the Holy Mount, on which they built their temple."[2] It is worthy of particular observation, that to sacrifice upon mountains did not of necessity imply anything idolatrous; on the contrary, from the earliest, even down to the latest, periods of sacred

[1] Clarke observed a great many tumuli, or imitative hills in Thrace, as before in Thessaly, especially two forming the horns of a ridge, and commanding a view over the whole subjacent country. — *Travels*, viii. 111.

[2] Monde Primitif, tom. i. 128.

history, mountains were not only permitted, but approved and selected places of religious worship. The first altar, of which we hear in Scripture, was that which Noah built upon Ararat, when he came out of the Ark.[1] The second was that of Abram at Sichem, because it was the scene of a divine revelation.[2] But it seems that he was not satisfied with its position; for he immediately removed from thence to a mountain between Bethel and Hai, and there he built an altar, and called upon the name of the Lord.[3] He seemed to have considered it a place of more holiness than the other; for that was the altar, which he especially sought for his fixed place of worship, when he returned out of Egypt afterwards. When he removed his tent to Hebron, he built another altar there.[4] Now Hebron was a hill either in or adjacent to the plain of Mamre: for in the division of the land Caleb, speaking of Hebron, said to Joshua; "Give me this mountain."[5] The sacrifice of Isaac was ordered to be offered on one of the mountains in the land of Moriah, which was afterwards called the Mount of the Lord.[6] When Jacob parted from Laban, he offered sacrifice upon Mount Gilead[7]; and Bethel, where God appeared to him, and where he was commanded to make an altar, must have been on a hill: for Deborah is said to have been buried beneath it.[8] Horeb was called

[1] Gen. viii. 20.
[2] Ibid. xii. 6.
[3] Ibid. xii. 8. and xiii. 3.
[4] Ibid. xiii. 18.
[5] Joshua, xiv. 12.
[6] Gen. xxii. 14.
[7] Ibid. xxxi. 23. and 54.
[8] Ibid. xxxv. 8.

the Mountain of God [1], and the Israelites were commanded to serve God upon that mountain; and upon the other horn of the same range, Sinai, God revealed himself most signally to Moses, and displayed his awful presence to the people whom he led. In the time of the Judges, Gideon was ordered to build an altar to the Lord on the top of the rock at Ophrah.[2] Samuel went up to a high place to bless the sacrifice of the people [3]; and in the directions which he gave to Saul, when he was chosen to be king of Israel, he mentioned a hill of God, where there was a garrison of the Philistines.[4] Hence R. Kimhi interprets it of Kirjath Jearim [5]; and he imagines, it was called the Hill of God, because the Ark of God was there. The Ark of God was indeed there traditionally, by the usual local appropriation, but not the Ark of the Covenant, which he means; for it had been conveyed away to Mizpeh, some time before [6]; and, accordingly, Mizpeh was the spot chosen for the sacred ceremony of inauguration, and on Mizpeh, the repentant people drew water and poured it out before the Lord.[7] Mizpeh was the name of the heap or tumulus, which Jacob made on Mount Gilead, for the solemn ratification of his covenant with Laban, and sanctified by sacrifices. In the reign of David, Mount Zion became the mountain of God's holiness, and he is said by the Psalmist to

[1] Exod. iii. 1. and 12. and xix. 12. [2] Judges, vi. 26.
[3] 1 Samuel, ix. 13. [4] Ibid. x. 5.
[5] Some imagine it was a lofty part of Gabaa, where there was a synagogue, or place devoted to the worship of God. — *Drusius in Loco.*
[6] 1 Sam. vii. 1. and x. 17. [7] Ibid. vii. 6.

have brought his people to the border of his sanctuary, even to the mountain which his right hand had purchased.[1] When Solomon had built upon that Mount his magnificent temple, it would naturally be regarded with extraordinary reverence; and we cannot be surprised to find the prophets representing the future Church of Christ, as founded on a mountain. But when Ezekiel speaks of the highest branch of the high cedar being planted in a high mountain, and eminent in the mountain of the height of Israel[2], the sacred mountain which he seems to have had more immediately in his view is Lebanon, the mountain of the moon,—the mountain so much celebrated for the magnitude and height of its cedars. The same prophet must have been impressed with the idea, that a certain religious respect was due to all the mountains of his native land, when he thus delivers to them a message from the Lord: "Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord; because the enemy hath said against you, Aha! even the ancient high places are ours in possession[3];"—and also when by a bold figure he paints the destruction of God's enemies as a great sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel. But Obadiah extends the same notion beyond the borders of his own country, when he declares that Saviours shall come up on Mount Zion, to judge the Mount of Esau.[4] Each mount is invested with an opinion of divinity, although the true God, the God that dwelt upon Mount Zion, would tri-

[1] Psalm xlviii. 1. and lxxviii. 54. [2] Ezekiel, xvii. 22, 23.
[3] Ezekiel, xxxvi. 1, 2. and xxxix. 17. [4] Obadiah, 21.

umph over the Idumæan superstition and punish its adherents. The latent impression, which fastened upon every mountain an idea of sacredness, may be detected in Ezekiel's figurative description of the Christian Church. An imaginary temple, the dimensions of which show that the Prophet was determined to distinguish it from Solomon's temple, is placed on a very high mountain, the top of which throughout all its limits is declared to be most holy. Looking from hence, he saw waters come down from under, from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar; and they increased so rapidly, that, at the distance of four thousand cubits, they were waters to swim in,—a river that could not be passed over. They issued out toward the east country, and went down into the desert; and it was announced, that, when they were brought forth into the sea, its waters should be healed, and every thing that moved should live, whithersoever the waters came: the trees were to bring forth new fruit, because the waters issued from the sanctuary; and the fruit was to be for meat, and the leaf for medicine.[1] The eastern gate of the temple, through which the water flowed, was kept shut; because the Lord, whose voice was as the noise of many waters, had entered through it.[2] What similitude could contain a more direct allusion to the cleansing and regeneration of the earth by the waters of the deluge? For although no one, who undertakes to interpret the figurative language of Scripture, can insist upon accuracy in

[1] Ezekiel, xlvii. 2. 12. [2] xliii. 2. and xliv. 1.

its types, so long as the meaning of the antitype is plain, yet of two modes of interpretation, that which is most conformable to the possibilities of nature is to be preferred. Now it is utterly impossible for a stream, descending from a very high mountain, to acquire so great a depth and magnitude in a course which is less than a mile in length; for the outward inclosure of the temple was three thousand cubits square[1]; and consequently, the first thousand cubits at least must have been measured on the table land, before the descent began: accordingly, the water at that point was only ancle deep. But how then did it increase so rapidly in rushing down the brow of the mountain? It is to be remembered, that the noise of many waters had been heard on its very summit. They had receded, indeed, but not far, as the distances at which the depth was measured show. But when they had subsided to the level of the sea, their medicinal virtues would become visible; the trees receiving new verdure would be clothed with fruit, and every thing that was dead would begin to live. The spiritual regeneration of the Christian Church by the effusion of the Holy Spirit is distinctly shadowed out in this similitude; for as the earth received new life, when it emerged from the diluvian waters, so when the Christian Church emerges from the laver of regeneration, it is renovated by the cleansing and healing influences of the Holy Ghost, and the dead begin to live.

Even the Dead Sea, destitute of animation, and

[1] Ezekiel, xlii. 20. compared with xl. 5.

reposing in sullen lethargy between its barren shores, is supposed to acknowledge the efficacy which the waters of the sanctuary convey along. It is a bold, but happy illustration of the stagnant pool of the world, till the dreary and desolate character, which it has by nature, is taken away, and it becomes replete with the motions and actions of life, and affords abundant occupation to the fishermen of the Gospel.[1] The admirable aptitude of this sea for expressing so great a change of condition seems to have been the only motive for introducing a Jewish locality; for in a geographical light the description suits Armenia much better. The Hill of Zion is of no great altitude; but Ararat is a very high mountain.[2] No river runs through Judea eastward into the Dead Sea; for the brook Cedron is of too little consequence: but the Araxes rises in the Armenian Mountains, and flows eastward in a mighty stream into the Caspian Sea, the waters of which, it may, in some sense, be said to heal; for most travellers agree, that it is partly fresh and partly salt.[3] The freshness is, no doubt, produced by the influx of the large rivers. There is another passage in the same prophet, which is very remarkable, because it appears to intimate a vast superiority over their idolatrous neighbours, in

[1] "It shall come to pass, that the fishers shall stand upon it—their fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the great sea, exceeding many." Ezek. xlvii. 10.

[2] Stocqueler saw it at the distance of forty miles; yet he speaks of it at that distance as an object of awe and admiration, and of the sublime majesty of the Mount towering above the hills.—*Pilgrimage through Khusistan and Persia*, i. 193.

[3] Sir W. Monson's Tracts. Churchill's Collection of Travels, iii. 424. Capt. Smith's Travels, ii. 392.

those whose religion seems to have consisted principally in a commemoration of the Deluge. The denunciation of God's wrath upon the Prince of Tyre, who had said, "I am a god; I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas," is couched in these terms: "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering: thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned: therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God; and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire." [1] Now, it has been abundantly shown by Faber [2], that the Mountain of the Ark coincided with the Mount of Paradise in ancient traditions. Tyre, therefore, being an insulated rock, and consequently an excellent transcript of Ararat, might, with equal propriety, be termed the Garden of Eden, and the holy mountain of God. The Prince of Tyre had said, "I am a God; I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas;" for the name by which the Almighty Lord is sometimes designated in Scripture — the Rock [3], is, in Hebrew, the very word from which

[1] Ezekiel, xxviii. 13.

[2] Pagan Idolatry, vol. i. book ii. ch. 1.

[3] "Is there a God beside me? yea, there is no God." Isaiah, xliv. 8. In Hebrew it is צוּר, Tsur, a rock.

Tyre is formed. He walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire:[1] No worship of that element is at all insinuated; but altars of stone were raised, or rocks were used for altars, and sacrifices were burned upon them by the Arkites, in imitation of Noah's sacrifice. But why was he called the anointed cherub that covereth? The usual explanations are quite unsatisfactory. The attitude of covering excludes the angel who guarded the gate of Paradise[2]; and to suppose that it means no more than a protector of his people[3] is to do much wrong to the dignity of the comparison. The anointed cherub was one of those whose wings covered the mercy seat upon the top of the Ark of the Covenant. Now, not only has that Ark the same appellation in English as the *Ship* of Noah, but in the Septuagint version, also, the same term is applied to both; and the Afghans have a tradition that the Ark of the Covenant was transmitted to Moses from Adam[4], that is to say, from Noah, whom they call the second Adam. According to Ebn Abbas, it was a goblet of pure gold, in which the hearts of the prophets had been purified by ablution. Since then, we have seen, that a goblet was a term sometimes employed by the ancients to signify a vessel of any size, and since purification

[1] It is not impossible, that in Hebrew אֵשׁ may have had at one time the same sense as the Celtic Ess, though it afterwards became obsolete; if so, it might be translated The Stones of the Ship.

[2] Faber's Pagan Idolatry.

[3] Munster and Grotius in loco.

[4] Hist. of the Afghans by Neamet Ullah, translated by B. Dorn, p. 14.

by water was associated with it, and the salvation of certain pious persons, we may infer that they, too, connected the one Ark with the other; and if the concurrence of the same notions from various quarters may be admitted as the indication of an unrevealed design, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Ark of the Covenant might have for its secondary object to remind the people of God of the preceding covenant, which he had established with Noah, that there should no more be a flood to destroy the earth.[1] The Jewish Rabbins seem to have been of the same opinion, when they gave to the Ark, in which the book of their law was deposited, the same name which Moses gave to the Ark of Noah.[2] They have a tradition which, in accounting for the disappearance of the Ark of the Covenant, consigns it to very Arkite custody.[3] At the period of the captivity, it was concealed by Jeremiah in a cave on Mount Nebo; and after it was carried away, its place was supplied by a stone, which they call the stone of foundation[4], because it is in the middle of the world, in the centre of the earth[5]; and over it the Chaliph Omar built his mosque. It is believed, even at the present day, to be suspended in the air; but Madan must have misunderstood the Rabbi, who assured him that the mosque was founded upon it[6], since nothing can be more clear than that the building

[1] Genesis, ix. 11. [2] Mischna. Tractat. Taanit. ii. 361.
[3] Gorionides, lib. i. c. 17.
[4] Mischna Joma, ii. 233. Note by Sheringamius.
[5] Rabbi Joshua compares it to Mount Sinai. — *Rel. Palæst.* ii. 638.
[6] Madan's Travels, ii. 337.

incloses it, and, indeed, was expressly designed for that purpose: for eight solid pillars, with sixteen marble columns disposed between them, served to support a dome, beneath which the huge mass of rock stands up from the marble pavement quite rough. It is commonly said to hang in the air unsupported; but rests, in fact, upon two or three very small pillars placed under it, and is partly, also, still attached to the ground.[1] Under this immense rock, which is connected with the solid mass only by a single angle, there is a spacious grotto, with a small stream of water. It is said to be upon the site of Solomon's temple[2]; but, in the opinion of the Jews, has an undefined antiquity much beyond that date: for there are various legends concerning it, one of which makes it the stone on which the angel sate, when the plague was stopped, in the reign of David. According to another, it was the very stone which Jacob set up at Bethel, and consecrated as the house of God; and since that is the literal translation of the word Bethel, it may very well be appropriated to more places than one. That it was appropriated to this spot upon Mount Moriah as well as to Luz, there is some reason to believe; for it will be seen upon reference to the history of Jacob[3], that after he had built an altar, and set up a pillar at Luz, and given it the name of El Bethel, God is said to have appeared to him again, at some place not mentioned, and in consequence of the gracious promises then again revealed to

[1] Giovanni Finati's Travels, ii. 287. [2] William of Tyre.
[3] Genesis, xxviii. 18.

him, he set up another pillar of stone, upon which he poured a drink-offering; and he called the name of the place Bethel.[1] It would have been quite superfluous to raise another monument for sacrifice, where one already consecrated was in existence; and it would have been a still greater act of supererogation to give it a name which it already bore. Moreover it is said, that in journeying from Bethel to Ephrah, or Bethlehem, where Rachel died, there was but a little way to come to it.[2] From Jerusalem to Bethlehem, the distance was only six miles; but from Luz, it was eighteen, which can scarcely be called "but a little way" for a woman near her confinement to travel. It is the opinion of many interpreters, that the word which in Hebrew precedes Luz, is, in fact, an additional cognomen prefixed, and they read it Oulam Luz[3]; and since the house of God, whether at Luz or at Jerusalem, was certainly on a mount, it is a very curious coincidence, that we find the same sort of religious memorial on a mountain of the same name in America.

The Apalachites in Florida were accustomed every year to offer sacrifices upon the mountain of Oläimi in a cavern, which was the temple of the sun; and the Abbé Banier observes, that their

[1] Genesis, xxxv. 14.

[2] Ibid. v. 16.

[3] Multi putant non לוז, sed אולמלוז, esse nomen hujus loci, et illud אולם, cum eo conjungunt, quod alii divellunt. — *Gen.* xxviii. 19. Justinus Martyr in Dialogo cum Tryphone ita hunc locum citat, καὶ Οὐλαμμάους ἦν τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει τὸ πρότερον. Usurpatur quoque de urbe Lais (Jud. xviii. 19.) ubi et Οὐλαμαὶς habent Græci. — *Relandi Palæstina*, ii. 876.

veneration of idols, which are nothing but shapeless stones, or have sometimes a conical figure, proves that their idolatry resembled that of the ancients in the Old World.[1] The meaning of Oulam is supposed to be "formerly," though there is another word in the sentence, which bears the same meaning. But there are several Arabic and Chaldee derivatives from the same root, which signify not only a beginning but a mountain, and anything like the pole of a tent, which sustains something else.[2] No better term therefore could be applied to any eminence, which represented that primitive mountain, which sustained the Ark. When Jacob built the altar at Bethel, he called the place El Bethel, that is, the God of Bethel; not that he ascribed any divinity to the place, otherwise than as it was consecrated by a peculiar manifestation of God's presence; and perhaps upon the same principle, the Greeks used to express a Deity in their abbreviated writing by a steep hill supporting on its summit the microcosm of the Ark ⛰[3], which, though not a globe in form, contained all the future inhabitants of the earth. These considerations will help us to distinguish more clearly, in what the degeneracy of Tyre, which provoked the prophet's complaint, consisted. As long as she was content to be the humble type of the mountain which witnessed God's covenant with Noah, so long she was,

1 The Sieur de Rochefort, cited by Banier, i. 133.

2 Castelli Lexicon in voce אול.

3 Selden on the Arundel Marbles, p. 133. The same figure was used by the Brahmins in Hindostan for the character Mundi intelligibilis. — *Kircher, Œdip. Ægypt.* iii. 23. *Deane on the Worship of the Serpent,* p. 55.

comparatively speaking, "perfect in her ways;" so long she was like the anointed cherub over the mercy-seat, a monument of his wrath against sin, and of the salvation which he bestowed upon his servants. In that sense she was perfect from the day when she was created by the action of the Deluge, till iniquity was found in her. But when pride lifted up her heart, and corrupted her wisdom, when she arrogated to herself divine honours, and, because she sat in the midst of the seas, said, "I am God," and when her sanctuaries were defiled by the multitude of her iniquities, then judgment was denounced against her, and she was to be cast out of the mountain of God as profane, and no longer to be considered in that light. High places therefore were not necessarily idolatrous: they were often indeed censured; but it was on account of the ill use to which they were applied. Our Saviour himself was in the habit of resorting to the mountain tops for the purpose of prayer; and the desolation of those places was esteemed a national calamity, because it implied a suspension of all the ordinary exercises of religion. The vengeance therefore denounced upon the revolted tribes was thus expressed by Amos: "The high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste."[1] They were retained as places of worship by some of the most religious of the Jewish kings; and though the fact is related with some appearance of surprise on the part of the historian, yet it is plain, that no offence was

[1] Amos, vii. 9.

imputed to them on that account. Thus, after reciting the zeal of Asa against idolatry, the account is thus wound up: "But the high places were not taken away out of Israel: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect all his days."[1] And when the penitent Manasseh signalised his sincerity by removing all the strange gods out of the land, the same exception occurs: "Nevertheless the people did sacrifice still in the high places, yet unto the Lord their God only."[2] Of Solomon it is said, that he loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of David his father: only he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places. And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place; and the Lord appeared to him in a dream by night.[3] Since therefore God vouchsafed an extraordinary favour to Solomon on that occasion, it is certain that there was nothing of offensive superstition in his choice of a place for sacrifice; on the contrary, we may infer that it was an acceptable service. When therefore Ezekiel upbraids the House of Israel for polluting themselves after the manner of their fathers, the nature of the sin to which he alludes is recited thus: "When I had brought them into the land, for the which I lifted up my hand to give it to them, then they saw every high hill — and they offered there their sacrifices — and poured out there their drink-offerings. Then I said unto them, What is the high place whereunto ye go?"[4] In this expostulation a

[1] 2 Chron. xv. 17.
[2] Ibid. xxxiii. 17.
[3] 1 Kings, iii. 2.
[4] Ezekiel, xx, 28.

distinction is implied: to some high places they might have gone unblamed; but what was the character of that to which they went? To answer the question, we must observe, that the place retained the name of Bama at the time when the Prophet wrote. Now when the Israelites were entering on the borders of the promised land, they arrived at Bamoth in the valley; a description which might lead us at once to conclude, that there was another Bamoth, or Bama on the heights: and so there was; for on the adjoining hill of Pisgah, Baal had his Bamoth, or high places. Lowth makes a false distinction between Bamah and Bamoth[1]: he maintains, that the masculine form is always a place of worship, and the feminine a height.[2] Jerome's opinion, that both always mean a high place, is much more correct[3]; for, in truth, the place of worship being always either on a height, or the representative of a height, they always coincide. It was precisely at this period of their journey, that the Israelites first polluted themselves with the practices of idolatry. The Psalmist charges them with joining themselves to Baal Peor, and eating the sacrifices of the dead[4]; sacrifices like those which the Hindoos offered to

[1] Outram says, that when the Ark was not in its proper place, it was lawful for the Israelites to use for divine worship sacella ista, quæ quoniam editioribus in locis posita erant, Bamoth appellari solent. — *De Sacrificiis*, lib. i. c. 2.

[2] Lowth in Isaiah, liii. 9.

[3] Bama singulariter, et Bamoth pluraliter, Excelsa significat. — *Hieron. in Ezek.* xx. 28. He says, that Abbana, the reading of the Seventy, Hebraico sermone nil resonat; but its meaning may be found in אבן, a Stone (*Op.* vol. iii.); ex quo Scholion illud. Ἀββανὰ λίθος ἑρμηνεύεται. — *Drusius in loco.*

[4] Psalm cvi. 28.

the Pitris, to their dead progenitors; or which Ulysses offered to the Manes, when he visited the islands of the West. Theodoretus observes upon this passage, that Baal Peor was believed to be Saturn [1], and consequently Noah; he was the same person whom the Japonese call Peirun [2], the virtuous king of a very fertile island, whose subjects became so corrupt, that they drew down the vengeance of heaven, and the island was swallowed up in the sea. But Peirun being beloved of the gods was warned of the catastrophe, and saved in a ship, which conveyed him and his family to another country. He disappeared, and still on the fifth day of the Moon in June they look for him in Gondolas, crying out, "Peirun, Peirun!" Jerome makes him the same as Priapus; and Vallancey observes, that the Bal Phearba of the Irish, who was the Baal Peor of the Moabites, the Peor Apis of Egypt, and the Priapus of the Greeks, was also a marine and aquatic deity.[3] So too Orpheus says, that the unwearied and fathomless ocean is subject to Priapus. There is no reason, however, to suppose that he was the Priapus of more modern times; for the licentiousness, into which the Israelites were seduced by the crafty counsel of Balaam, may be imputed to a sort of anniversary celebration of the sensual indulgence enjoyed by the family of Noah, when they were released from the prohibitions and austerities of the Ark. And therefore it is said, that "the people sat down to eat and to drink, and

[1] Vossius, note on Maimonides de Idol. p. 38.
[2] Kæmpfer, Hist. of Japan.
[3] Vallancey, Collectanea, vi. 464.

rose up to play."[1] Both Balak and Balaam seem to have been Arkites; and this will account for the neutral position which they occupy, between idolatry and true religion. It does not appear that the king placed any confidence in idols, or in any other than the great invisible God, who inspired the prophet; and he conducted him to three different summits of the Abarim Mountains, where he was to offer sacrifice, not to Baal, but to God. The number of seven altars, and seven victims, may be explained by the tradition current among the Afghans, that only seven persons were saved from the Deluge. A similar deviation from historical truth may have then prevailed in Aram. The people of Palæstine long retained their local traditions connecting their high places with the Deluge; for the Talmud relates[2] how a Samaritan contended for the holiness of Gerizim, because it was not covered by the waters of the flood; and the Jews claimed the same exemption from that visitation for their own country, because it was the Holy Land.

[1] Exodus, xxxii.

[2] Bereschith Rabha. Parascha, xxxii. 16. Lightfoot. Hor. Heb. in Joh. iv. 20. Preland. Dissert. de Monte Gerizim, i. 146.

CHAP. XX.

CAIRNS AND TEOCALLIS. — BABEL AND NIMROD. — PYRAMIDS IN EGYPT, PALESTINE, AND INDIA. — CAIRNS IN BRITAIN, ON THE ALPS, APENNINES, ATLAS, AND ATHOS.

It was a natural consequence of that fond veneration for mountains, which universally appropriated them to the purposes of religion, that imitations of them in miniature should be constructed to answer the same purpose, with the advantage of greater convenience. Hence arose those sacred heaps of earth or stones, in valleys as well as on heights, denominated by the Hebrews Bamoth, by the Greeks Bomoi, and by the British Cairns. Kern, or Karn, says Richardson, is pure Arabic, a top of a mountain higher than the rest.[1] They could only, therefore, be so entitled mystically and emblematically, when they were constructed, as they frequently were, on plains: in such situations, indeed, they were most wanted. The principal motive for making them in valleys, was to bring them nearer to water, which constituted an important feature in the accuracy of the emblem; and when the practice had once grown common, the fashion would be readily followed by all who consulted their ease; since it was a much more easy matter to visit an artificial mound, than to climb a mountain. But

[1] Vallancey's Introduction to Irish Hist. p. 15.

in level tracts of country they were indispensable to those who desired to have sacred places, and to continue the rites, to which they had been accustomed among the mountains. Having no natural hills to which they could resort, they were under the necessity of making them in miniature near the place of their residence; and thus it may be supposed, that every tribe, and almost every distinguished family, would have an oratory, or place of worship of its own. The vast numbers of them which appear in such situations need no other explanation. The whole extent of the Tartar plains, says one traveller[1], is dotted with small tumuli about six or eight feet in perpendicular height, and perhaps ten times as many at their base. They are perfectly conical, and so numerous, that one or more are always in view. Their regularity seems to declare that they are not natural. "Near Sardis," says another[2], "the plain is covered with tumuli, some of stupendous size; perhaps it was a place of interment of peculiar sanctity." It was indeed a place of peculiar sanctity, but not necessarily a place of interment. The neighbourhood of the temple of Diana, that is, the moon, might have taught him better. Dr. Clarke, who observed many of them both in Poland and in Russia, had too much sagacity to fall into that error. Whatever, says he, may have been the origin of the artificial mounds, so universally spread over the face of these countries, it is certain that some of

[1] Memoranda of an Irish Gentleman in Christian Examiner, No. iv. vol. vii.

[2] Arundell's Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 186.

them, both in ancient and modern times, were erected not for tombs. Walsh observed a great number of conical tumuli in travelling from Constantinople, and the plains of Thessaly were covered with them.[1] This is indeed the country, in which, upon the Arkite hypothesis, we should most expect to find them; for it is the country in which the scene of Deucalion's deluge is laid. And the conical form is an exact imitation of the shape, which travellers in Armenia ascribe to the highest peak of Ararat: and as its magnificent representative, Mount Tabor, rearing its mighty cone from the plains of Palestine, is denominated by Isaiah a Keren[2], so its humbler transcripts on the Celtic plains were denominated Cairns. In Scandinavia, too, they seem to be equally abundant: for Heber observed a vast number of Cairns in Sweden, and one in particular claimed his notice in a barren and desolate region of heath and crag, which had a large circle of Druidical stones, and, consequently, was, beyond all doubt, a place of worship.[3] Similar mounds are found in the plains of Thrace and Mysia; some of which have been examined, and urns, and bricks, and coins, have been found in them; but, as the explorer himself justly observes, nothing can be justly concluded from thence for what purpose those heaps were piled up[4]; for if they had a sacred character, that is a sufficient

[1] Walsh's Travels, p. 150. [2] Lowth on Isaiah, v. 1.
[3] Life by Mrs. Heber, p. 49.
[4] Exinde nihil colligere licet, cui usui fuerint congesti illi acervi. — *Danubius Pannonico Mysicus ab Aloysio Ferd. Com. Marsili*, tom. ii. p. 88.

reason for their becoming places of interment. And that character may fairly be inferred from their locality; for they are on the banks of the vast marshes subject to inundation by the Tibiscus, or Teisse, and the Danube, and especially about the confluence of the two rivers. It is scarcely possible to imagine any motive for placing them in such situations, without having recourse to the religion of the Arkites. In Persia, Sir R. K. Porter observed a mound, or conical hill, which being of greater altitude than any that he had seen, and having the vestiges of a stone building on it, he inquired of Abbas Mirza, what he thought of the origin of such heaps. He said he supposed they were the work of the fireworshippers of former ages, who usually erected their altars upon high places.[1] It was a very natural conjecture in Persia, where the worship of fire superseded the primitive rites. The progress of this revolution has been already traced; and the opinion is of no other consequence, than as it shows the belief of the Persians, that those artificial mounds were not historical or sepulchral monuments, but structures devoted to religion. If now we turn to the western continent, we shall find the same phænomena in full force there. It is an important link by which the New and the Old World are connected, and is one of the many proofs, that their inhabitants had one common origin. In North America, no less than three thousand of these tumuli have been counted; the smallest of which are 20 feet high,

[1] Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, i. 298.

and 100 in diameter at their base; while some have a circumference of 2500 feet at their base, and rise to an elevation of 200. They are found from the mouth of the Ohio to the Illinois river on the east; and on the west from the St. Francis to the Missouri. They are all of a regular form, and generally cones or pyramids.[1] One at Harrisburg, the capital of Pensylvania, about fifteen feet high, is hemispherical; but was evidently once much higher: they are found indeed, not only in various parts of Pensylvania, but in all parts of America[2], composed sometimes of earth, and sometimes of loose stones, like the Cairn and Carnedde of Scotland and Wales. They are so ancient that the Indians have no tradition who were their authors or what was their purpose. The region between Savannah river and Oakmulge, and from the sea-coast to the Cherokee, or Apalachian Mountains, is remarkable for high conical hills and terraces; of which the traveller, who describes them, doubts whether they were look-out towers, or high places for sacrifice. His doubts might have been spared: for he himself notices certain usages of the natives, which were associated in their origin with the sacred mounts, and formed a part of the same system of religion. They rejoice at the appearance of the new moon, and suspend silver crescents round their

[1] Brackenridge's Letter to Jefferson. Latrobe mentions other forms too; but his general testimony is to the same effect. We met with them, says he, on the shores of Lake Michigan, and on the islands of the coast of Florida; on plains and in the forests; here in large numbers on the prairies, and there rising singly, like a rude pyramid on the edge of some shadowy creek: he supposes the largest to have been rude temples. — *Rambler in N. America*, ii. 247.

[2] Vigne's Six Months in America, i. 68, 69.

necks.[1] Moreover the mode, in which the tumuli are sometimes grouped together, quite excludes the hypothesis, that they were look-out towers; because for such a purpose their actual arrangement would have been utterly useless. On the banks of the Cohokia, there are about a hundred mounds in two groups; two of them being much larger than the rest, and the others standing round symmetrically: one of them is 100 feet high, and eight times as much in circumference.[2] They resemble the Mexican pyramids, in facing the cardinal points, and, like them, are divided into several stages. A pyramid at St. Louis carries this resemblance still further; for it is truncated at the top: and the platform has a diameter of several feet. If it had been a sepulchral monument, it would have been more natural to have rounded it, or pointed it at the top. The platform must have been intended for some religious ceremony; and the species of religion to which it belonged, is very plainly indicated by its position near the confluence of the great rivers Missouri and Mississippi, which frequently inundate the adjacent plains.[3] In America, says Vigne, I believe none of these tumuli are supposed to cover the remains of one person only. But the external coating of earth will easily crumble away when disturbed, and will frequently discover bones at a trifling depth beneath the surface. The Indians have a feeling of reverence for them; and it is

[1] Bartram's Travels in Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, in 1793.

[2] Brackenridge's Letter to Jefferson. — *Journ. of Science*, No. vi. N. S. 354.

[3] Stuart's Three Years in N. America, ii. 313.

evident that this feeling has made them a burial-place.[1] Hence in one, which Jefferson opened, about 1000 skeletons were found; the bones being deposited in layers, but in the utmost confusion of relative position; and among them the bones of infants. It was not, therefore, the site of a battle, but may be considered as a sort of churchyard, in which the people of the neighbourhood deposited the relics of their departed friends.

But the most decisive evidence of their sacred character is their close resemblance to the Mexican pyramids, which were denominated Teocallis; that is to say, the Houses of the Gods; for they too had considerable cavities in their interior, which were used as sepulchres by the natives; but on the summit of the platform one or two chapels were built, like towers, which contained the idols of the divinity, to whom the Teocalli was dedicated. Of the two large pyramids of Teotihuacan, which are surrounded by hundreds of much smaller dimensions, one bore on its summit a vast idol of the moon in hard stone.[2] It may be concluded, therefore, that the form was a crescent, and consequently resembled the Egyptian Bari. The other pyramid had a statue on its top, which is called the sun; but if the moon was represented by an idol of her own figure, the sun should have been a simple disk. It is more likely that both that statue, and those which were found in the vault of the pyramid at Cholula, were images of dead progenitors; for the plain, in which it stands, is called the Way of the

[1] Six Months in America, p. 71. [2] Travels of Gemelli Carreri.

Dead, and the native Indians had a distinct tradition of the Deluge, which expressly refers the pyramid of Cholula, the greatest, the most ancient, and most celebrated of all, to that event. It is thus related by Humboldt: "Before the great inundation, which took place four thousand eight hundred years after the creation of the world, the country of Anahuac was inhabited by giants. All those who did not perish were transformed into fishes, except seven, who fled into caverns. When the waters subsided, one of those giants, Xelhua, surnamed the architect, went to Cholollan, where as a memorial of the mountain Tlaloc which had served for an asylum to himself and his six brethren, he built an artificial hill in the form of a pyramid." The imitation was perfectly successful; for at a distance, says Humboldt, it has the aspect of a natural hill covered with vegetation: and every particular strongly corroborates the statements that have been advanced on the subject of the Arkite worship. The persons saved from the Deluge were giants, Cabiri, the potent. They were seven in number, besides the Patriarch, who being multiplied into the various forms of Oannes, Dagon, the Dolphin, and other inhabitants of the ocean, was transformed into a fish. Caverns being the asylum of those who were saved from the flood, represented the Ark; and the pyramid, like all other sacred mounts, was a memorial of Mount Ararat. Nor is this all; for the history of the first imitative mountain designed for idolatrous uses is curiously dovetailed into the Mexican

[1] Humboldt's Researches, i. 96.

history of the Deluge. For the construction of this pyramid bricks were made at the foot of the Sierra Cocotl, and conveyed to Cholula by a file of men, who passed them from hand to hand. "The gods beheld with wrath this edifice, the top of which was to reach the clouds. Irritated at the daring attempt of Xelhua, they hurled fire on the pyramid. Numbers of the workmen perished; the work was discontinued; and the monument was afterwards dedicated to Quelzatcoatl, the god of the air[1]," whose name signifies the green-feathered serpent. Thus the worship of the serpent is again connected with the Deluge, and the God of the Deluge is again connected with Saturn; for the reign of this Quetzalcoatl was the golden age of the people of Anahuac. At that period all animals, and even men, lived in peace; and the earth brought forth without culture the most fruitful harvests. But the building of the pyramid, by the very terms of the tradition, must have taken place at a period long posterior to the Deluge, which it commemorated; for the long file of men implies a vast increase of population, and a concentration of it upon that particular spot. It is evidently the narrative of a transaction which actually occurred in the plains of Shinar, where religion was first corrupted, and the first perversion of hallowed objects to the purposes of ambition provoked the wrath of heaven. The Tower of Babel, as it is called[2], was the archetype of the ancient pyramids, — the model from which they were all constructed, with more or less devi-

[1] Humboldt's Researches, i. 96. [2] Genesis, xi. 4.

ation from the original.[1] There are no less than three monuments in that region, which contend for the honour, or rather the dishonour, of having produced the confusion of tongues; but they are all of the same character, and belong to the same ritual. The first is nine miles from Bagdad, an elevated mound supporting a ponderous mass of ruin, which is called by the Arabs Tull Akerkouf, vulgarly Agergoaf, and by the Turks Nemroud Tepefoy; both which appellations, says Captain Mignan[2], signify the mound of Nemroud, or Nimrod; not the Tower of Nimrod, as it has been translated. It is obvious, however, that the same word once expressed both senses; for Taurus, a common name for mountains, is the same word as Turris; and Tor, which in Arabia and in England designates a mountain, is but a little removed from Tower. The very word used in Hebrew for the Tower of Babel is interpreted by Parkhurst, a tower growing wider from the top to the bottom.[3] On the north-east face, nearly in the centre, and consequently about sixty feet from the base, is an aperture

[1] The origin of the huge pyramidal monuments of Asia, in the traditional records remaining among the nations of antiquity of the building of the Tower of Babel, which was itself but a symbolic representation of the mountain on which the Ark rested after the Deluge, has been fully established by the pens of many able writers; and the resemblance between the latter, as described by the ancients, and the Teocallis, or temples, of the ancient people of Anahuac, is too glaring to be overlooked, or denied by the most sceptically disposed. — *Latrobe's Rambler in Mexico*, p. 208. He mentions, that one of the Teocallis is called the house of the moon, and another is surrounded by a moat.

[2] Mignan's Travels in Chaldæa, p. 102.

[3] Migdol, the Arabic Zjadol from the same root, signifies the summit of a mountain; the root itself expresses magnitude of any sort. — *Castelli Lexicon.*

somewhat resembling a Gothic window: for what purpose it was intended the writer thinks it now impossible to determine; but the ruin is without doubt solid. He must mean, that it is solid every where else; for the aperture implies an interior cavity of some sort, however small its dimensions: and it is no very hazardous conjecture to say that it was a sacred cell. The difficulty of access is a point in which it quite agrees with the cells of other pyramids, and the interior of the round towers in Ireland. The second mound, which he coincides with Major Rennell and Pietro della Valle[1] in pronouncing to be the Tower of Babel, is four miles and a half from Killah, and fifty-four south of Bagdad. It is called El Mujellibah[2], the overturned; and also Haroot and Maroot, from a tradition that near the foot of the ruin there is a well invisible to mortals, in which those rebellious angels were condemned to be hung with their heels upwards until the day of judgment. The height is 139 feet; and the greatest breadth at the base not quite double the height: but all the faces have that irregularity of dimension, which might be expected where the only object was to rear a mountain.[3] There is no difficulty in accounting for the tradition. The invisible well preserves the memory of a worship, in which water was a necessary ingredient for purification: and

[1] Pietro della Valle, Viaggi, Lettera viii.

[2] Rich observes, that it is pronounced Moojellibe, and that bricks are found there with the arrow-headed character, known no where else but in the ruins of Nineveh and Persepolis. — *Memoir of the Ruins near Khilleh*, p. 153.

[3] The north side measures 274 feet; 256 S.; 240 W.; 226 E. — *Mignan's Travels in Chaldæa*, p. 162.

the rebellious angels confined in it for punishment are the Dæmons, who let loose the destroying flood upon the world[1], the last streams of which retired into their subterranean abodes through the opening of that well. Haroot and Maroot are names which have been applied to the heads of the defeated Arkites, when their ritual was supplanted by the worship of fire; for Marooth in Chaldee, which was the language of the country, signifies a rebel, and Hara, in both Persic and Arabic, signifies a foolish, or mischievous speaker.[2] Yet there was an ironical ambiguity in the terms; for Har signifies a mountain, and Mar a lord. The third mound, or that for which Niebuhr and Rich contend, is on the western shore of Euphrates. Its circumference is 722 yards, and its height 190 feet. Its appearance to the traveller, who approaches it, is that of a fallen and decayed pyramid, with the ruins of a tower remaining on its summit, a solid pile of brick diminishing towards the top.[3] Rich describes it as a circular hill crowned with a tower. It is universally known by the name of Birs Nemroud; for to Nimrod, the grandson of Ham, and first king of Babel, this structure is uniformly attributed by tradition: but the word Birs, it is

[1] Major Skinner says, "My Arab from Bagdad asked, if it had not been built in the days of Noah."— *Journey to India,* p. 217.

[2] هوا garrulus, Arab.: هرا sermo vanus. Noxius linguâ. Pers. הַר, Chal., mons. מרוד, Chal., rebellis. מְרוּדִים, Heb., ejecti ut rebelles. — *Is.* lviii. 7. *Castelli Lexicon.* Nimrod, whose name is the Rebel, is derived from the same root — מָר, dominus. Ibid.

[3] Buckingham's Travels, p. 475. He makes the height 198 feet.

said, cannot be satisfactorily explained in Arabic, as a derivative of this language, and all attempts to deduce it from the Hebrew or Chaldaic tongues have failed. Nevertheless the original word, though not retained in those languages, was retained in the Egyptian and Greek Baris, and in Armenia, as an appellative of Ararat, the name of the vessel itself being transferred by abbreviation to the hill on which it rested. Birs Nemroud therefore is the hill, or Baris of Nimrod. Hamdalleh Mustoufi, in his chapter on mountains, rivers, &c., says, that Birs was a residence of Nemroud, at which he exposed Ibrahim Khalil, that is, Abraham, to the action of fire.[1] But the Lord, as Masûdi remarks upon this passage, kept him cool and unhurt; and in that day the planets and their temples in all parts of the earth were humbled.[2] So far the tradition is consistent with another, which states that Nimrod, who reigned 500 years, introduced the worship of the heavenly bodies in the life of Terah, the father of Abraham; for the story implies, that a contest was going on between the Arkites and the Sabians, in which for that time the former were victorious. To this contest perhaps Joshua alluded, when he told the Israelites that their fathers on the other side of the flood, that is, the people from whom they descended, served other gods.[3] Terah himself can only be included in that passage as a dweller beyond the flood, and not as a server of other gods; for Laban, who adhered to the Arkite form of

[1] General History, ch. 1. [2] Mignan's Travels, p. 260.
[3] Joshua, xxiv. 2.

worship, was only an idolater, inasmuch as he kept certain sacred images called Teraphim, which were neither graven images, nor molten images; for they are expressly distinguished from such images in the history of Micah.[1] The word is derived from a root which signifies to slacken, or to heal.[2] It is probable, therefore, that it denoted some memorials of that æra so interesting to the family of Noah, when the waters of the Deluge abated, and the earth was healed; and dry land appeared. They might therefore be miniature copies of that peak, which first gave them the cheering intimation that the flood was abating; for Montfauçon observes, with respect to the Egyptians, that pyramids and obelisks entered so much into their religion, that they made some, small and portable, to be deposited in private houses, and in the baskets of Bacchus and Ceres.[3] They seem to be called Laban's gods, only because they were sacred in his sight: but it is evident that he did not intend to adore any other God than Jehovah; for when he set up the other consecrated emblems of his religion, the tumulus and the pillar, to give solemnity to the compact between himself and Jacob, he invoked but one God to judge betwixt them; and that was the God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father Terah.[4] It was probably some persecution on account of his religion, or at least the difference of opinion on that subject between

[1] Judges, xviii. 14. 18.

[2] רפה. Jer. li. 9. 2 Kings, ii. 21, 22. I have healed these waters, רפאתי.

[3] Montfauçon, xii. 195.

[4] Genesis, xxxi. 53.

him and his neighbours, which induced Terah to go forth from Ur of the Chaldees, the land of his nativity. That Teraphim similar to those here supposed were actually converted by idolaters into the direct objects of their worship, is a fact established by sufficient testimony. Thus in the temple of Venus at Paphos, the image of the goddess was not a human shape, but conical, rising circularly to a peak from a broad base.[1] Maximus Tyrius says you could liken it to nothing but a white pyramid.[2] Clemens of Alexandria mentions a priestess of Juno adorning the column of the goddess with crowns and garlands[3]: upon which Scaliger remarks, that it was the image of the goddess herself[4]; for at that time the statues of the gods were pyramidal columns: and this explains the reason of the cone being used in the ceremonies of initiation. Thus an ancient painting exhibits a youth admitted to the Mysteries, over whose head two priestesses hold what Bellorius calls an ark, in which the Arcana of religion were contained.[5] It may, or it may not, have had this additional use: there is

[1] Continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metæ modo exsurgens, et ratio in obscuro. — *Tacit. Hist.* lib. ii.

[2] Max. Tyr. Dial. 38. Selden suggests, with great appearance of reason, that the name of Venus is derived from the Hebrew Benoth; for on some coins it is written Venos: and since B and V are convertible letters, it is probably the same as the Greek Binos, which, according to Suidas, was the name of a goddess. Now Benoth signifies Daughters, or Young Women, like the French Filles; but with the formative Aleph prefixed to the same root, it signifies a Stone, and an Idol of stone. — *Jer.* ii. 27. *Parkhurst.*

[3] Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. i.

[4] Scaliger in Euseb. Chron.

[5] Cistellula croceo colore illita, in qua religionis arcana. — *Picturæ Antiquæ Cryptarum Romanarum*, p. 20. tab. 12.

nothing to indicate that it had. But the form is that of a large cone standing on a frame with a garland round it, from which a sash hangs down. Suidas tells us that the image of Apollo was a pillar rising to a point[1]; but it was doubtful whether it belonged to Apollo or to Bacchus[2]: so that Clemens had reason to say, that it was the earliest form of idolatry.[3] It is very likely that Nimrod was the author of it; but there is no ground for attributing to him the invention of fire-worship: and the ease with which a descendant is substituted for an ancestor in tradition, and the actions of the one are attributed to the other, is nowhere better exemplified than in this case. One Arabian author, indeed, even quits the regular line of succession, and makes him the son of Canaan[4]; another asserts that he was the Persian Zhohac, a king of the first dynasty of princes after the Deluge; another maintains, that he was Cäicaous, the second king of the second dynasty of Persia.[5] It appears, therefore, that there are no less than three persons for whose actions the first king of Babylon is made responsible. The original Nimrod is said to have been a mighty hunter before the Lord.[6] It may be questioned, however, whether our translation, although the closest perhaps which the difference of our language and our different habits of thought will permit, presents to our minds the full meaning

[1] Κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων. — *Suidas.*

[2] Liberum, Apollinem, Solem unum contenditis esse numen. — *Arnobius Adversus Gentes*, lib. iii.

[3] Stromat. lib. i. [4] Ben Kenâan, Ben Kham, frère de Cous.

[5] D'Herbelôt, tom. iii. p. 32. [6] Genesis, x. 8.

of the writer: and commentators have been severely puzzled to explain it satisfactorily. Some have supposed that it implied violence and conquest[1]; others, that he was the first who obtained beasts for sacrifice by hunting them.[2] But both are merely gratuitous assumptions, and therefore room is still left for argument and conjecture.

The word rendered Hunter is Tsaid, or Tsid, which may have had originally the sense of the Arabic Said[3], a skilful man, a Lord. In this sense it seems to have been adopted by the Hindoos in the manufacture of their Sidhis; and in this sense the Celts seem to have borrowed it for their Caer Sidi, the oracle, or abode of the wise man. It is possible, therefore, that his character may not have been so bad as that which is usually ascribed to him; and it is scarcely to be imagined, that he would be described as great in any sense in the sight of the Lord, if impiety and tyranny had been his principal characteristics. It is not unlikely, however, that he was the head and leader of the Arkite sect, and through that medium obtained an extensive authority over the adjoining region. But it has been said that the phrase, "before the Lord," is one which is equally used of things pleasing or displeasing to God.[5] If therefore it may be taken

[1] צַיִד, Venatio, for סִיד, Arabice سيد Lupus, Leo, Vir peritus, Dominus. — *Castelli Lexicon.*

[2] Gerundensis, Munster, Piscator.

[3] Aben Ezra, Kimhi, Grotius.

[4] Tsaid itself may be derived from צִי, Tsi, a Ship.

[5] Coram Deo fieri dicuntur aut quæ Deo pergrata sunt, aut quæ ei displicent. — *Ebenezra.*

in a bad sense, the union of subtlety and ambition, which the term seems to imply, affords reason to suspect that the person thus described, and who "began to be a mighty one in the earth," aimed at aggrandisement, by concentrating all religious reverence about his own metropolis, Babel, in opposition to the known will of God; for he constructed one or more of these mimic Ararats, and a brick has been found on a supposed site of Babel, bearing the figure of a crescent in relief.[1] The story of Semiramis having built the city is supposed to have arisen from its name being Shem oir Amuid, "Let us build Shem"[2]—a Name, or Renown—the city of the tower: he afterwards received the titles of Belus and Baal[3], which also signifies Lord; and his worship was that which most seduced the Israelites into idolatry. Hence the term became associated with delusion; and when Ezekiel[4] reproaches the women for hunting their souls, that is, for seducing them into idolatry, Tsadah is the word used, as it is also in Proverbs[5], where it is said "The adulteress will hunt for the precious life," that is, she will endeavour to ensnare it.

The Arabian writers are not content to ascribe the Babylonian pyramids alone to Nimrod, but some of them must make him the founder of those in Egypt too. However, Ibn Abd Alhokm gives them a much greater antiquity. According to his

[1] Found by Mr. Beaucham in 1779.

[2] Davies's Celtic Mythology.

[3] Clarke mentions a Thessalian practice of prefixing B to a vowel, making Othrys into Bothry and Alos into Balos.—*Travels*, vii. 327. Thus Bel from El, or Ila.

[4] Ezek. xiii. 18 and 20. [5] Prov. vi. 26.

account, the greatest part of chronologers agree, that they were built by Saurid Ibn Salhouk, who lived 300 years before the Flood. The occasion, however, of his building them was for security against the Flood; for he is said to have dreamed a most nonsensical dream about the earth being turned over, and the stars falling down, and of two mountains, which, by closing together, shut out the light; and, awaking with great fear, he assembled the chief priests of all the provinces of Egypt, an hundred and thirty priests; and when he had related the whole matter to them, they took the altitude of the stars, and, making their prognostication, foretold a deluge. The king said, "Will it come to our country?" They answered, "Yea, and will destroy it:" and there remained a certain number of years to come; and he commanded, in the mean space, to build the pyramids, and a vault to be made. Accordingly, when Almamon, the Chaliph, opened one of them, he found towards the top, a chamber, in which there was a hollow stone, and in it a statue of stone, like a man, and within that a man, upon whom was a breast-plate of gold, &c. Well might Greaves accuse these Arabs of romancing[1]; but yet out of this mass of rubbish a gem or two of pure truth may be collected. It is usually supposed, that one great object of those who projected the Tower of Babel, was to secure themselves from a future deluge; and here we find the same notion transferred by the Arabians to the construction

[1] Greaves's Description of the Pyramids. — *Collection of Travels*, ii. 722.

of similar pyramids in Egypt. In one of those on the plains of Shinar, an aperture is visible at an inaccessible height. The entrance into the pyramid of Cheops is at the height of thirty-eight feet from the base: Denon makes it sixty [1]; and since the vault was the place of asylum in the hour of danger, and "was filled with strange things, with riches, and treasures," it represented the Ark, and corresponded with all those sacred cells which have in so many parts of the world performed the same office. Volney's etymology of Pyramid is an Egyptian word — Pooramis, signifying a cave [2]; and another investigator of those antiquities has observed that "their use was connected with the celebration of the mysteries of the Egyptian religion." [3] If this fact had been better understood, much unreasonable indignation might have been spared, and much unfounded vituperation of the taste and tyranny which erected them. "The mass of pride," says Denon, "which suggested the undertaking of building the pyramids, exceeds their natural dimensions;" and he doubts, whether the tyrannical madness of those who ordered their execution, or the stupid obe-

[1] The pyramid of Cheops is higher than the neighbouring hills. — *Denon, Voyage d'Egypte.* The pyramid of Cheops stands on an elevated rock, which forms its nucleus, and extends to the height of 72 feet, perhaps from the level of the base, or about 178 feet from the level of the underground chamber. This chamber is about the same depth below the base of the pyramid as the plain under the rock. — *Wilkinson's Thebes,* p. 337. The height of the entrance, therefore, was for the purpose of imitation, and it is evident that the rocky nucleus was sacred before it was enshrined in the pyramid.

[2] Herodotus says that Piromis signified καλὸς κἀγαθὸς, something fair and good — in short, sacred, lib. ii. sect. 144.

[3] Madan's Travels, i. 361.

dience of those who achieved it, is most astonishing.[1] If, indeed, their sole object had been to receive the corpse of the founder, he would not be far wrong in his invective; but both king and people were influenced by higher motives, which Denon, doubtless, could not understand: their object was religious. It is true, that the Greek historian gives a bad report of Cheops, which he had received from the Egyptian priests; but then he tells the reason of it. Cheops had closed their temples, and prohibited their sacrifices, evidently because he was an Arkite, and disapproved of the more recent idolatry; and, in perfect consistency with that character, he excavated cells in the rock, on which the pyramid is built; and in the centre of it he contrived to form an island, by introducing the waters of the Nile through a tunnel, and there he prepared his sepulchre, as the most sacred spot that he could devise.[2] In like manner, another king is said to have excavated the lake of Mœris; and in the centre, he constructed two pyramids, to correspond to the two peaks of Ararat, and he made them six hundred feet high, and then he insulated them, by admitting the waters of the Nile, which covered half their height.[3] The success with which these huge piles imitated mountains, may be best understood from the difficulty experienced in distinguishing one from the other. Finati states that, in Nubia, the dark-coloured conical mountains imitate pyramids

[1] Voyage d'Egypte, p. 97. [2] Herodotus, lib. ii. 124.
[3] Diod. Sic. lib. i.

(he should rather have said, resemble them) so perfectly in the distance, as not to be distinguished from them[1]; and the pyramidal form was deemed so sacred, that the dress which adorns the heads, not only of the Indian and Egyptian priests, but of their gods too, is usually of that shape.[2] It occurs, also, in some of the monuments of Palestine, which, in order to satisfy the over-eager curiosity of pilgrims, have been assigned to various persons of note in Scripture, without much regard to history or genuine tradition: their real date, therefore, is extremely uncertain; and it is hard to say, whether any motive entered into their construction beyond the spirit of architectural imitation. Their resemblance, however, to other Arkite monuments is remarkable: thus the tomb of Zachariah is described as a square mass of rock, hewn down into form, and isolated from the quarry by a passage of several feet in width. It is finished in the Egyptian manner, and surmounted by a pyramid[3]; but there is no appearance of an entrance into any part of it.[4] It is not, therefore, in the proper sense of

[1] Giovanni Finati, Travels, ii. 323.

[2] Maurice's Indian Antiquities, ii. 183. Picart in his Religious Ceremonies observes, that the Pagodas in Asom, Ava, and Arracan are erected in a pyramidal form, iv. 32. The great shrine, or Mandir of Buddha Gaya, is a slender quadrangular pyramid of great height, containing three chambers one above another, and images of Mahamuni, Chandramuni, Sakyamuni, and Gautama. — *Dr. Hamilton in Trans. As. Soc.* ii. 51. It has been shown how all these personages have reference to the second father of the human race. Col. Tod says the pinnacle of Siva's temple is invariably pyramidal. Ibid. p. 280.

[3] In the same way the Pagoda at Seidpoor, is surmounted by a pyramidical spire. — *Heber's Life*, i. 360.

[4] Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, i. 298.

the word, a tomb, — still it may be a cenotaph; but it is not very likely that so much labour would be bestowed without any cogent motive on any spot which did not cover or contain his remains; and there is room to suspect that it was named after the prophet by an arbitrary appropriation only because it had always been deemed an object of religious regard.[1] The reputed tomb of Absalom is described much in the same way; only it is surmounted by a sharp conical dome, on the summit of which there is something like an imitation of flame. On the eastern side of the dome there is a square aperture; so that its general structure approximates a good deal to that of the pyramids in Upper Egypt; for they are nearer to a sugar-loaf form than those in Lower Egypt.[2] Their base is smaller in proportion to their height, and the angle at the summit much sharper; and they have a sort of false door, or little chapel attached to one of the sides, without any passage into the interior.[3] The only monument of Absalom certainly known to have existed is that which is called his pillar; but it was not sepulchral. He reared it for himself in his life-time; and his motive was the same as that which actuated the builders of Babel — it was a Shem, or Sema, to keep his name in remembrance; and it was never called his sepulchre, but merely

[1] Zachariah prophesied during the captivity at Babylon.

[2] Heeren argues from the pyramid architecture in Meroe, though only miniatures, that in Egypt they were the work of Ethiopian conquerors. — *Reflections on Africa*, ii. 117.

[3] Giovanni Finati, ii. 378. He notices also an island in the Nile, called Argo, with a brick pyramid on the opposite bank, p. 364.

his place[1] or Terminus.[2] I am not aware that there is any specimen of a genuine pyramid in the British Islands[3]; but there are plenty of tumuli or cairns, which, in fact, bear a closer resemblance to those peaks, of which both are representatives, than the pyramid, — at least, when their form approaches to a cone; for a pyramid is only the nearest approximation to a cone, attainable in building on a large scale, with rough materials, and the easiest form for the workmen. Accordingly, many of the sacred buildings in the East combine both forms: at Mourzabad, the Jains, *i. e.* Traders, have a temple called Bunyan ka Mandur, from the centre of which a dome rises; and beyond that, immediately over the image of Pârisnath, three high pyramids of carved stone, like those of the principal temples in Benares.[4] But still the conical form is that which attracts most veneration. Thus the excavations at Canara have, in general, an interior

[1] 2 Samuel, xviii. 18.

[2] יד, Yad, Terminus, Robur, Dominium. It must have been some power connected with the sea; for its primary meaning is a sea-shore, Littus. — *Castell. Lex.* The Chaldee Paraphrast substitutes אַתְרָא, Athra, which much resembles the Celtic Athair, a ship. At Kalingera Heber observed some sanctuaries in a Jain temple, which must have very much the appearance of Absalom's pillar: they are 12 feet square, and surmounted by high pyramids, ii. 526.

[3] The sculpture, however, on a pillar in the Abbey Church at Rumsey, represents Edgar offering a pyramid; which Mr. Latham observes is the appropriate and common emblem of a founder of any religious house; why it should be so, on any other principle than that which is here maintained, it is hard to say. — *Archæologia*, xv. 307.

[4] Heber's Life, ii. 430. There is a remarkable instance in Montfaucon of the club of Hercules in the form of a pyramid: it is "quarré, va toujours en diminuant, et se termine en pointe," ii. 285.

recess, a small tank, and a conic marble[1]; and one of its mountains has been hewn to a point by human art. If elevation was the object to be considered, any high mountain would suffice; but it is evident that a particular form was studied, and that form is the same which is still visible on Mount Ararat. If all mountains were sacred, or if they were sacred only on account of their height, there would have been no occasion to raise artificial tumuli in the mountainous country of Nepaul. But in that country there are many cairns, which a divine spirit is always supposed to inhabit; and, therefore, the natives never pass by one without stopping to adore the divinity.[2]

In the British Islands, cairns of the same sort are very numerous; and Miss Beaufort remarks, that the reverence still felt by the lower classes in Ireland towards those sacred elevations is so great, that they even now carry stones to add to the heap.[3] A resemblance to the pyramids in the structure of some, argues a similarity of design. We shall find that some contain sanctuaries, and Caillaud observes, that most of the pyramids, which he visited near Barkâl, had sanctuaries attached to them. But the converse of this proposition is not equally true; for dissimilarity of structure does not necessarily infer dissimilarity of design. The difference observed may have originated in a difference between the several parts of the same general design; therefore, though it is a reasonable infer-

[1] Maurice's Indian Antiquities, ii. 158. 181.
[2] Kirkpatrick's Account of Nepaul. [3] Essay, &c. p. 28.

ence, that a mound, which includes a cell, had the same origin as a pyramid, with the same appendage, yet it does not follow, that the solid cairn had not a similar origin, because both the mountain peak, and the dark chamber, had the same relationship to the Arkite worship, and are only different memorials of the same event. I do not mean to say that all cairns were constructed with this view: for doubtless a large proportion of them were heaped over the ashes of the illustrious dead, with no other intention than to do honour to the deceased. But for that very reason, the form was chosen, which immemorial usage had consecrated to the purposes of solemnity; and it was an unconscious imitation of an ancient practice devised for other ends. When two edifices, one small and the other large, are constructed upon the same plan, it may usually be taken for granted that the smaller is an imitation of the larger; and no one would imagine that the Pantheon at Rome was a copy instead of the original of that smaller building in London, upon the same model, which is absurdly enough called the Colosseum. Now the author of the Essay upon the Round Towers of Ireland, who has paid great attention to the antiquities of her country, divides the cairns into two classes:—1. The Taimh Leacht, or Burial Cairn, being usually raised over a Kistvan, or more properly Cisde Bhana, *i. e.* the Coffer of Death; which is commonly formed of six stones, and within which the urn is deposited: 2. The Altar Cairn, which often covers a large space, and rises to sixty or seventy feet in height.

It has on the top sometimes a Cromleach; sometimes a flat stone of large size, upon which the fire was lighted; and sometimes a pillar stone: it is generally upon an eminence, and on the tops of hills.[1] Here, then, we have the acknowledgment of a writer, who upon this subject has no hypothesis to support, that the most considerable cairns in Ireland have in some way or other a decidedly sacred character; for the others are seldom of so great a size: and even with respect to these, she seems to doubt whether they were originally designed for burial; for she observes elsewhere, that "some of these smaller earthworks contain within them small cells, of which some are empty: small ones containing caves are frequently situated in the vicinity of the larger Raths, possibly *sacred*, as in India, where mounts, containing small chambers, are placed near the villages."[2] It appears, therefore, that a large proportion of these cairns, nearly all of the larger size and many of the smaller, have been considered by an impartial investigator of the facts to be destined to sacred uses. What those uses were, the progress of this inquiry will probably enable us to determine. In England, they are more commonly called Barrows; and under this denomination, they are thus classified by another writer upon Celtic antiquities:—1. Druids' Barrows. 2. Bell-shaped Barrows. 3. Bowl-shaped Barrows: and 4. Long Barrows, which are what

[1] Miss Beaufort's Essay, p. 28.

[2] Many of these are called Tapeh Gaur, or the Gheber's Mount. —*Sir W. Ousely.* Sir R. K. Porter calls them Gaur Tepa, ii. 606.

the northern writers describe as Ship Barrows; and in these skeletons have been found laid irregularly, but no urns or daggers.[1] With respect to the first sort there needs no argument to prove that they were religious structures; the second shape is very naturally produced from a cone formed of earth, by the detritus which the rains wash off from the top, settling about the base, and forming the rim: and this may be the true reason why, in some Indian temples already noticed, offerings were made before certain sacred bells: the Bowl-shaped and the Long Barrows were evident memorials of a ship, under the different forms once in use. It has been shown from the Argha of the Hindoos[2], the bowl of Krishna, the cup of Hercules, and from historical evidence, that round ships were used by various people less skilful in naval architecture, than the builders of the Ark. The Long Barrow was a long ship reversed: it was carinæ instar. It is not difficult to account for the reversed position of the ship; for when the first wanderers over the ocean desired to have a place of worship, to which they might repair in bad weather, with the least possible deviation from their ancient usages, it would naturally occur to them, that, by hauling their ships on shore, and turning their keels upwards, they would obtain at once an object of religious rever-

[1] Sir R. C. Hoare in Archæologia, vol. xix.

[2] The real intention of the Argha, whatever its precise form might be, is thus incidentally brought under our notice by Mr. Colebrooke: An Arghya is an oblation in a conch, or vessel of a particular form approaching to that of a boat. Col. Tod suggests that it means an Ark. — *Tr. As. Soc.* ii. 567.

ence, and a shelter from the storm. It is common by the sea-side, to see boats used for the latter purpose by the fishermen; and Sallust relates, that the Persians and Armenians, who passed into Africa, made use of their ships turned bottom upwards for houses.[1] When the idea of sanctity was once attached to these structures, used as temporary temples, the more solid monuments of earth would sometimes assume the same form. It is a form which is still found on the banners of the Arabs retaining the name of a ship. They are banners only used on important occasions, and are called Merkeb, or the Ship .[2]

It is interesting to observe how exactly Cairn, Carenon, and Carina[3] correspond to Barrow, Barr, and Bari. The first in each series is the subject of investigation, as Celtic, or rather Arkite, monuments. The second in each signifies a summit, and the third a ship. Hence Britain was called Bari Tain, the Land of the Ship; and thus Brigantes, and Britanni, its first inhabitants, are in fact synonymous: for it may be observed that Brig, as the name of a ship, has been retained to the present day. There is yet another series of links, by which these mounds are connected with the Ark, as the

[1] Bell. Jugurth. c. 20. and 21.

[2] Two stands of wood, six or seven feet high, bearing inverted crescents on the top, covered with black ostrich feathers. — *Burckhardt*, p. 145.

[3] Κάρα and κάρηνον, are a head or height; Karn, mons.—*Lluyd's Archæ. Brit.* Barr the summit, or top of any thing — the end of things— death.—*Lluyd's, O Reilly's*, and *O Brien's Dictionaries*. It was perfectly natural, that the two latter meanings should be associated with the idea of the Baris, which is a Bark in Irish, as Bari is in Egyptian. — *Vallancey on Ancient Irish*, p. 71.

mother of mankind.' Bar not only denotes a height, and a habitation upon the waters[1], but is also, according to M. de Gebelin, a primitive word, which conveyed the ideas of carrying and producing[2]; both which senses are preserved in the English verb, to Bear. Hence Bri, which is only a contraction of Bari, signifies in Irish a mountain, and when written with y (Bry) a womb.[3] Such are the impressions stamped upon language by reverence for the mountain, that bore the preserving Ark, and for the parent ship, from which those whom she preserved were born again into the renovated world. Some judgment may be formed of the depth and extent of these impressions, by adverting to the number of places in this country, which terminate in Berry, or Burg, or Brough, or Burgh, or Borough: for it were a great mistake to suppose, that Borough originally signified a town. "Elfleda," says Borlase, "daughter of Alfred the Great, in 915 built eight castles all called Burrows, because they were fortifications raised on hills in the shape of Burrows, or Tumuli[4];" and "the fortifications, erected by the Saxons, were called Burghs, from the hills on which they stood." If this learned antiquary had gone far enough back in his researches, and had considered the real origin of those Barrows, from which the Burghs derived their name, he would not have mistaken some of

[1] Bar, un lieu habitée sur des eaux. — *Monde Primitif, Disc. Prelim.*

[2] Le primitif Bar designa les idées de Porter et de Produire. — *Monde Prim.* tom. i. 159.

[3] Lluyd's Archæol. Brit. [4] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 331.

the circular works which he has described for original fortifications; for instance, on the top of a high hill in the parish of Sancred Caerbrân, an area of fifty paces in diameter is surrounded by a Vallum and two ditches, the former five yards high, the latter five, and fifteen wide; within which a ridge of disorderly stones quite rounds the top of the hill, and in the centre of all there is a little circle.[1] Perhaps he thought the dimensions of the works too vast for the ornament of a Barrow; but the same feeling which raised such edifices as St. Paul's, or St. Peter's dome at Rome, must not be denied to our Celtic predecessors; and the little circle in the centre is probably what Sir R. C. Hoare would have denominated a Bowl Barrow. On the other hand, it is obvious that an area no more than fifty paces in diameter is far too small for an encampment. It is possible, indeed, that some small band of soldiers or terrified inhabitants may have repaired to it as a strong post in troubled times, and enlarged its works to strengthen it for their temporary security; but there is no evidence of permanent habitation there: and the central circle is a decisive mark, that it was consigned to religious uses. Another hill in the same vicinity, the very name of which (Bar-tinè) points to the object originally in view, adds force to this conclusion[2]; for it bears no evidence of military art, and much of religious design. The circular mound, which crowns it, has little or no ditch around it;

[1] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 315.
[2] Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall. Ibid.

but three small circles are edged with stones pitched on end and contiguous to each other; one of them being nine yards across, and each of the other seven. It is evident, therefore, that they were not formed fortuitously, or hastily, or for any purpose of defence; and the Triad was a number, which had a sacred repute among the Celts, as the Welsh poem on that subject shows. There is also a well now filled with stones: whether it contained water must be uncertain; but whether it did or not, whether it supplied the means of purification, or was only a dry cell excavated for the purpose of initiation, it was equally subservient to the Celtic worship. According to Gildas, the Druids worshipped mountains[1]; but it would perhaps be more correct to say, that they held them sacred; for there we find their sacred places and appurtenances of worship, and therefore I suspect the accuracy of the interpretation which Borlase puts upon certain Cornish names for Barrows,—a suspicion which is not unreasonable in an obsolete language, little understood by any one. He says, they are often called Crigs, or Crugs, that is, round heaps; and by the vulgar oftentimes Crig an Bargus, the Kite's round Hill.[2] The Kite may possibly have obtained the appellation of Bargus, because he is the bird of the mountain; and some Barrow may have deserved that local name from the circumstance of its being frequented by Kites; but those birds are no more guilty of imposing their name upon the English Barrows, than they

[1] Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 107. [2] Ibid.

are upon the Spanish Burgos, which is a fortress situated like them on the top of a hill: and there is no reason to suppose, that they have any peculiar predilection for round hills. Berg usually signifies a mountain[1]; and Barrows are called in Teutonic Broghs; in Saxon Byrighs[2]: but to suppose that Crig and Bargus both mean round hills, would be to introduce a most inadmissible pleonasm. Since therefore one of the terms must discard this meaning, it remains to see whether Crig has not less title to it than Bargus. Rowland, in his "Mona Antiqua," mentions a Cromlech near Carreg Wydrin: it is probable, that the place derived its name from the Cromlech: for a similar monument is named by him, Carreg y Frân; and two Cornish forms of the same word bear upon the same point; for Karak signifies a rock, and Cerig, which is very like Crig, Stones, or a Circle: the latter meaning was no doubt appended to it, because the sacred circles were bounded by stones. Accordingly, another Cromlech, accompanied by two Carneddes, are mentioned at Rhôs y Cerrig[3]: in which case, Rhôs being certainly a hill, it is plain that the name must mean, not the hill of the hill, but the

[1] M. de Gebelin, Disc. Prelim.

[2] Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 209. He adds, that in Staffordshire, they are called Lows, which reminds us of the Greek λόφος, tumulus; in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, Cops, which means a summit: "for Cab est une racine Celtique prononcée également Cap, et qui désigna la tête, signification, qu'elle conserve encore aujourd'hui dans les dialectes Celtes; ainsi Cab, Cap, Kopf, Kef, même Haupt, ne sont que les modifications d'un seul et même mot primitif commun à la plus part des peuples anciens et modernes."—*M. de Gebelin, Monde Primitif,* p. 200. Thus κεφαλὴ, caput, haupt, and head, have all the same origin.

[3] In Llanddeiniel Parish.

hill of the sacred rocks; I say sacred rocks, because, in one instance at least, the place so designated is not only a circle of stones, but also bears another very significant but kindred appellation. It is near Caer Idris, and is called Cerrig Brudyn, or Curach Bhrath. The latter word exactly corresponds to the Vratta of the Hindoos: for the summit of their sacred mountain Meru is represented as a circular plain surrounded by an edge of hills. It is called Ila Vratta, or the Circle of Ila, not only by the Hindoos, but by the people of Thibet, the Tartars and the Chinese, who all have it in the greatest veneration, and worship its encircling crags, whenever they descry them.[1] 'It is worthy of observation, that the sacred plant of the Hindoos, the Lotus, in the first stage of its blossom, is conical[2], and represents the solitary peak of a mountain: but when its corolla is expanded, it is the exact image of Ilavratta. The flat depression of its petals around the germen forms the area upon the mountain's top, and their ascending extremities are the encircling crags. But the Celts seem to have been more attentive to the origin of all this veneration for the mountain peak than the Hindoos; for among the Irish names of a ship enumerated by Vallancey, we find Currcurr, like the Arabic Kurkur[3]: by Lhuyd it is written Karkair; also Karas, and Curach[4], which is the same as the Spanish Carraca. Dufresne gives Corwg as British for a light bark covered with hides, and Corrogh had the same

[1] Asiatic Researches, vii. 314.
[2] See Moor's Pantheon, plates 30, 31.
[3] Collectanea, vol. iii. 117. [5] Archæologia Britannica.

meaning. It is scarcely doubtful, therefore, that Curach Bhrath means the ship circle; or if Bhrath must be the same as the Cornish Wrath, it will be the giant ship: for the Celts always associated the idea of gigantic power with the construction of their sacred monuments, and they are generally on a gigantic scale. The same idea seems to have been extended to the tremendous anger of the Almighty, — that *wrath* which destroyed all the inhabitants of the earth, excepting only eight. Curach, therefore, and Cerrig, and Crig, and Crug, being only different forms of the same word, all difficulty of interpretation is taken away. Rhôs y Cerrig is the Hill of the Shiplike Rock, and Crig an Bargus is the Shiplike Rock upon the Hill. The form, indeed, was sometimes preserved only in the name: but in other instances, as in the Bowdar stone in Borrowdale, the long sides of the rock were bevelled away beneath, till it rested only on a narrow keel.

It would be an endless and unprofitable task to describe all the Cairns, or Barrows in the British Isles; but a few specimens, in which the Arkite character is most conspicuous, must be noticed for the sake of illustration: — 1. In Jersey, near St Hillary (St. Helier), a tumulus, sixty-six feet in circumference, is raised on the top of a hill; it is composed of forty-five large stones, and contains four perfect cells, besides one that has been destroyed. The dimensions of these cells show that they could only have been designed for some mysterious rites. The length of the entrance is fifteen

feet, but the height only two, though it afterwards increases to twice as much. The largest, however, is no more than four feet three inches in depth and length, and the others are less[1]: for interment, therefore, they could not have been intended, nor is there the smallest evidence that they were, in any way, applied to that use. In the seventeenth century, Mr. Bindextre states that fifty tumuli of the same nature existed, which are now demolished. In England, the most remarkable monument of this kind is Silbury Hill, which is too well known to need further description. Whether it had a cell or not — whether it had the circumference of the area on its truncated cone set round with stones, which have been since removed, like those that formed the contiguous temple of Abury, or not — it is quite clear, both from its form and from the position which it occupies, directly fronting the centre of the Druidical temple, that it was designed for religious uses — it was a sacred mount. Another large tumulus, near the town of Bradfield, about six miles N.W. of Sheffield, is called Bailey Hill, *i. e.* the Hill of Beli, with whose name, a stone at Sleigh Grian was found inscribed.[2] Servius observes, that Bel was the same as El, with the Æolic digamma prefixed. The worship, therefore, practised on this hill, was, according to the common opinion, that which has been denominated Helioarkite, in which the worship of the sun was compounded with that of the Ark. It may be so, but it is not a neces-

[1] Archæologia, viii. 384.
[2] ᴘᴇLICIUOƆƎ, Beli Divose. — *Archæol.* xvi. 121.

sary conclusion; for if El be indeed the root, it may have reference to the Sanscrit Ila,— the earth encompassed with the waters: and if the first syllable of Bradfield is the same word as that Bhrath which we have lately been considering, the Oriental term is complete, Ilavratta; or, if the Hebrew etymology be preferred, still the sun has no business there: for Baal is simply Lord; and as Hu, the Herogod of the Cambrian Celts, may be traced from a Hebrew word, which denotes by the same letters both He, or rather They, and God [1], so El, which corresponds with the French and Italian Il, signifies God in Hebrew and Chaldee. According to this etymology, the meaning will be the Lord's Hill, or the Sacred Mount; and it is to be observed that all the accompaniments belong strictly to the Arkite ritual; for there are a great number of tumuli around; a large Carnedde of stones; a rock, called the Kurkeling stone, with artificial basins on it; and a small remain of stones, laid circularly, and called Side (*i. e.* Caer Sidi [2]). It is surrounded with a ditch thirty feet wide, though the basin on the top is only thirty-four feet in diameter. Forty feet to the south of it, a high bank, a hundred yards long, is called Long Hill, which, though it is long, may have derived its name originally from Long, a ship. Tradition says that there was a subterraneous passage to one or both of these hills, which is no more than the natural exaggeration of a subterraneous chamber, like those which pyramids usually possessed. In the chamber of a long

[1] הוּא hi and Jehovah. [2] Archæol. vol. v. p. 94. and vol. x.

Barrow opened at Wellow, in Wiltshire, some bones and fragments of pottery were found[1]; but it does not follow that it was merely a sepulchre: the supposed sanctity of the cell will sufficiently account for that. It is remarkable that the field was called Roundhill Tyning; since the hill was so far from round, that the length was more than double the breadth.[2] In Wales, in the county of Caernarvon, there is a similar Barrow, on the summit of Penmaenmawr, which is called Carn Braich, or Bre y Dinas. It is enclosed by two, if not three walls, and fills nearly the whole space of the interior inclosure.[3] Stukeley calls it a Long Barrow, the length, which is thirty or forty yards, being double the breadth, and he ascribes it to the sepulture of an Archdruid. He clearly perceived that it was religiously regarded by the Celts; and not having penetrated into the mystery of their monuments, he could no otherwise account for the facts which he observed: but its real origin is determined by some very characteristic appendages. A hillock, which rises at each end, gives it in a distant view the appearance of a crescent or a Bari; and it is situated between two springs, one

[1] Archæol. xix. 46.

[2] In the same county several Barrows were opened by Mr. Cunnington, who found in one of them a Cist, and an Ox's head; and on the top some skeletons, which he thought were subsequent interments. — *Archæol.* xv. 346. The Ox's head reminds us of the Egyptians; and his remark upon the skeletons confirms all that has been said concerning the fallacious conclusions, into which many persons are drawn by such appearances.

[3] The walls of the exterior circle are seven or eight feet thick; and the space between it and the interior circle twenty feet. The cairns at the top are double and mammillary, showing clearly the origin of the notion, that in these rites Demeter, or mother Earth, was to be viewed.

of which fills a rock basin, and flows over its edges. This is a subject which will demand a good deal of attention in the further prosecution of our inquiry: at present, it may suffice to say, that from the evidence before him, Mr. Pownall was induced to conclude it to be one of the Druids' consecrated high places of worship; and he observes with great truth, that "these places were always inclosed and separated off from common use and profanation; the line of separation was either a simple ditch, as at Stonehenge, or a ditch and mound of earth sloping inward, like that at Abury" (and he might have added, like hundreds of inclosures absurdly called Danish camps), "or a line of erect stones, forming a kind of wall, like that at Carnbrè, in Cornwall, or a wall like that at this place. This line in none of the above instances was formed for defence, but merely to mark the boundary." The same observer's accurate discernment has supplied another important feature of these Arkite monuments. "As," he says, "in the Druids' high place at Carnbrè, one sees within the sacred bounds Cairns, Cromlechs, and multitudes of circular holy compartments; so here, I must suppose the hundreds of circular foundations spoken of" (by Dr. Gibson, in his edition of Camden, but now no longer visible), "were the remains of the holy consecrated recesses dedicated to the service of religious ceremonies and worship."[1] It is remarkable that this sagacious antiquary compares Carn Braich to Mount Sinai, and suggests that the people, not wholly corrupted,

[1] Archæologia, iii. 303.

retained the old patriarchal rites, without perceiving the prior claims of another mountain of more universal interest to all the nations of the earth, and which gave birth to a system of rites, not only observed by the patriarchs, but transmitted from the Noachidæ to all their descendants, and consequently to be found in every quarter of the globe.

In Ireland, the most remarkable specimen of this sort is described by the same writer: it is one of which the interior adornments have been already noticed; but some particulars relating to its general form have been reserved for this place. New Grange, near Drogheda, is a Cairn or pyramid, of which the probable height, when it was perfect, would be 100 feet. It is encircled at the base with a number of enormous unhewn stones, set upright. The passage into the interior is by a gallery, near sixty-two feet in length, which is three feet wide, and only two in height. It has three cells, two of which have their sides formed by two stones on each side; the other by one on each side. All are covered by a single large flat stone, sloping towards the back: in short, they are Kistvaens or Cromlechs, and each of the side niches had a rock basin, three or four feet in diameter.[1] The length of the low passage could have no object in view, but to heighten the solemnity of some mysterious initiation. The sloping shape of the stone covers, together with the direction of the slope, not to the front but to the back, shows that they were not altars; while the

[1] Archæologia, ii. 254.

height and form of the tumulus, the cells and rock basins for the purifying water, prove that the mysteries here celebrated were Arkite. There is a manifest resemblance, as far as a pyramid of earth can resemble a pyramid of stone, between this structure and the Egyptian pyramids; for both have elaborate cells in the interior, small in proportion to the huge superincumbent mass, and extremely difficult of access. This difficulty of entrance is a remarkable and characteristic feature of both; for no one would have invented such an useless inconvenience, if they were only receptacles for the dead. In that case no reasonable motive can be assigned for adopting such a plan, since it does not appear that any treasures were ever buried or concealed there. On the other hand, if they were cells devoted to religious mysteries, the narrow and difficult entrance made the secret chamber more awful to the imagination; and there was something appropriate in the crouching and prostrate position requisite in order to obtain admission. Another instance in the same country will serve to show that the long or inverted Ship-barrow had the same design, and must have been used for the same purposes. In the parish of Kilslevy, in Armagh, a large Cairn was opened by the Dean of Raphoe, which was sixty feet in length, and twelve in height[1]: it contained four cells, opening length-

[1] The place is called Anna Clogh Mullen, It had a semicircular porch marked out in front of the entrance; and, at eight feet from the door, two pillars stood on either side about nine feet high, and tapering upwards to a point.—*Vallancey's Collect.* vi. 461.

wise into each other, and varying in their dimensions from nine feet and a half to six in length, and from eight to two in the breadth, which was more and more contracted as it receded from the entrance. These are evidently stages of purification. The walls were only three feet high; and in none of them were any urns discovered, or any thing that could lead to a discovery of the purposes for which they were designed.[1] It is no wonder, that an antiquary, who had not viewed this subject in its proper bearings, should be puzzled by such apparently useless caves; but the mystery is easily solved, by conceding them to be sanctuaries of the Arkites.[2] If, from Ireland we proceed to Scotland, we shall there find that a circular apartment has lately been discovered in the centre of a great cairn, at the end of a passage, eighteen feet long and two wide: the diameter was twelve feet, and the height in the centre twelve; the roof was a dome, and the masonry had no cement. It is true, that in this cell a vase was found containing ashes; but Sir T. D. Lauder justly concludes, that they were the ashes of the Arch-druidical priest, thus interred within the Sanctum Sanctorum of their mysterious worship[3]; for he thinks it was not a sepurchral or monumental Cairn, but for religious purposes; and the nature of the religion is sufficiently determined by its usual ad-

[1] Archæol. xv. Append. p. 409.

[2] Some Cairns, says Miss Beaufort, contain cells or chambers; one at Ross Carbery (the hill of the oracle of the Bari), in Cork, contains a vast number of small apartments twelve feet by six, and in each cell a broad flagstone. — *Essay on the Round Towers*, p. 30.

[3] Sir T. D. Lauder's Account of the Floods in Moray, p. 15. and Append. p. 419.

juncts: for the Plain of Clava, in which it is situated, has been denominated the Scottish Stonehenge, being covered with Druidical circles of great magnitude: and this Cairn is inclosed by two concentric circles, of which the smaller one in some degree supports it. Another immense Cairn, on the western summit of the high hill that separates Daltlich from Lethem, gives, indeed, no evidence of its interior structure: for it has not been opened: but its name is sufficiently significant,—it is called Cairnbar, the Cairn or Hill of the Bari.[1] Sometimes the Cairn was constructed not of earth but of stone; and then, as in England the earthworks have been mistaken for Danish camps, so in Scotland the stone Cairns have been equally mistaken for Pictish forts. They are described by Mr. Gordon as circular buildings of unhewn stone, about twenty feet in diameter, and surrounded by a low double wall. There are many such in the Orcades,—the Orkneys, or Ark Islands; and one on Burra, which, like the Burrows, seems to have taken its name from Bari. It is evident, that for military purposes they are too insignificant to have deserved so much care as their durability testifies, and their situation is very characteristic of their primary design; for "they are all upon a rising ground close to the water edge on small points of land projecting into the sea or lake nigh which they stand[2]:" that in Ronaldsha had been actually surrounded by the sea. A round fort at Carloway is forty

[1] Sir T. D. Lauder's Account of the Floods in Moray, p. 58.
[2] Trans. of Soc. Antiq. i. 263.

feet high and thirty in diameter at the bottom. No mortar is used throughout; and the appearance of this great cone, all grey with moss on the summit of a lofty rock above a freshwater lake, is said to be very curious. Under the ruins of another, which stands on an eminence at Boruc, there is a narrow vaulted cavity, which corresponds to the chambers in the pyramids: it was, like them, a sacred cell. The ruins of another at Cromore, about sixteen feet in height, stand in an island just large enough to contain it. The area was occupied by several circular cavities, and the spaces between them were filled up with stones.[1] These cells were of so much importance in the celebration of the Arkite mysteries, that they were sometimes multiplied even outside of the principal building. Thus there are several such hollows or pits on a hill in Strathmore, where the Dune, or tower of Dornadilla, stands, which is a round conical building, with an entrance only three feet square. "Fanciful people," says Mr. Pope, "would make them places where men and dogs lodged in the hunting season; and historians say, that Dornadilla spent his time in hunting, and was the first that enacted forest laws." The historians seem to have mistaken Dornadilla for Nimrod; but the right interpretation of the word shows that it was not the name of a man. It is said to signify, The round stone place of the worship of God[2]: and, accordingly, an old Gaelic bard, who wished to give it an owner, called it

[1] Trans. Soc. Antiq. i. 289.

[2] Dorn is Irish for a round stone—na, of — Di, God — and Alla, a place of worship.— See *Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 340.

Dun Dornghil Mac Duiff. It was certainly a most inconvenient place for any other purpose; for it had no windows, and all the accommodation it contained within consisted of some low narrow galleries accessible only by flag-stones left for steps in openings through an inner wall[1]: moreover the steps were two feet and a half apart.

The usual designation of buildings thus constructed, is decisive of their original purpose: for it is observed, that "*although* every place where they are found has the syllable Dun or Dune added to it, which signifies in Erse a place of strength, or a *rock*, yet the particular building itself is always called the Druid's house." The writer seems to imagine, that there is some contradiction between the Celtic and the traditional name; but in that he is much mistaken: the imitation of the sacred rock, combining in itself the crag and the cell, was naturally the house of the priest, the temple of the Druid. Dun Agglesag, in Ross-shire, is another of these circular edifices, constructed with much art and more labour; for the stones are not cemented, and bear no mark of any tool: and yet the outside is quite smooth and compact. It is fifty feet in diameter, and has been twenty in height, though the upper part is now in ruins. But, notwithstanding its magnitude, there is no appearance of win-

[1] The galleries were 5 ft. high, 2½ broad; the whole height 25 ft. — *Archæologia*, vol. v. Dordedilla is near Reay, the country of Rhea, which is called Minre by Mr. Pope, who also informs us, that the person, whom historians call Dardanus, was styled Daradia-more, the other great god, p. 220. Rhea is reported by Cedrenus, to have been a builder of pyramids, and the wife of Nimrod, the builder of the Tower of Babel. — *Georg. Cedreni Hist. Compend.*

dows, or any other aperture besides the door.[1] It cannot, therefore, have been intended for a place either of residence or of defence: there is, in fact, no more reason to doubt its application to religious purposes, than in the case of the great Pagodas of Deogur and Tanjore, the most venerable for their antiquity of all the temples in the East. These stupendous pyramids resemble huge caverns, and admit the light of heaven only at one solitary door.[2] In other islands, two buildings of similar form and of unknown antiquity have been observed. At Tarrauba, in Minorca, the remains of a pyramid, constructed of rough stones, and forming now the frustum of a cone, with a door on one side, stand upon a mound of earth, surrounded by a circle of columnar stones, which, in this country, would have been called a Druidical circle; so also in Sardinia, there are some high conical towers, of extreme antiquity, the builders of which are unknown to history.[3] Niebuhr attributes them to the Tyrrhenians, Letronne to the Etruscans, and Micali[4] to the Carthaginians. Whatever might be their name, they were Arkites; for the cones are surrounded, not indeed by a circle of stones, but by smaller towers connected by a wall containing a casemated passage, which supplied the sacred cells.[5] However different the appearance of the exterior may be, the design of this building bears a very close resemblance to that of an ancient monument, at Ruttun-

[1] Archæol. v. 246. [2] Ibid. iii. 15.
[3] Vol i. p. 144. [4] Storia degli Antiche Popoli Italiani, ii. 46.
[5] Journal des Savans, 1827, p. 206.

poor, in India[1]; a temple of a pyramidal form, about fifty feet high, is surrounded by twenty-four smaller pyramids, built upon thirty-six arches in the middle of a tank.[2] Here we have the central mount, girded, according to the Oriental notion of Meru, with a circle of inferior peaks, and rising out of the diluvian waters; and the arches furnish the sacred cells. Thus, too, at Benares there are small pyramids, with subterranean passages under them, which are said, by those who delight in the fabulous, to extend many miles; but when the doors are opened, the spectator beholds only dark holes, which do not seem of great extent. Pilgrims used to resort to them; but are now deterred, it is said, by the fear of mephitic air.[3] The truth seems to be that that kind of superstition is extinct; and the mephitic air is a good excuse for no longer visiting the sacred cells. In the neighbourhood of Volterra, in Italy, there is a mountain, on the most elevated part of which the ruins of a building with six arches yet remain, which was probably constructed with the same design: for below are the fragments of two reservoirs for water; and on the Colle del

[1] Capt. Blunt, in Asiat. Res. vol. vii.

[2] The Ilavratta has been described; and the Boudhists imagine, that round their Maha Meru there lies another stone of half the height. Ibid. p. 407. The temple of Jagganatha comprises about fifty temples; the most conspicuous of which is one lofty tower, called the *Bara* Dewal, and two adjoining stone buildings with pyramidal roofs: in one of these the idol is worshipped during the bathing festival. — *Trans. As. Soc.* iii. 253.

[3] Asiat. Res. iii. 229. It has been no uncommon thing to have several low buildings of the same kind joining to the base of a larger one, and communicating with it from within like cells. They are all situated very near water, by the side of a lake or river. — *Archæol.* v. 252.

Portone, Sir R. C. Hoare noticed some Ipogei, which are called by the natives, Le Buche dei Saracini[1],—a name which only shows that they knew nothing of their real origin, or primitive use. These were so low, that he could only traverse one of them on his knees. It was not therefore a public burying-place, as he unwisely conjectures without any evidence; for when sepulchres were wanted, they were made much more convenient; and, accordingly, an Ipogeo on the same hill, really used for that purpose, was much higher. The smaller ones were like the Hypogea of Egypt, and the vaults under the pyramid of Cheops, and adjoining to that of Cephrenes[2]: and it is remarkable, that in another point the Etrurians resembled the Egyptians. They seem to have avoided the sea; for Strabo observes, that Populonia was the only one of the Tuscan cities originally founded near the sea. It might have been supposed that the Alps were lofty enough to satisfy any one, if altitude were all that was required, and peaked enough if points alone were wanted, and a similitude to flame. But even on the top of the Alps, these indefatigable Arkites reared huge pyramids of stone[3], because they could not be content without their usual temple; and if it be true, that there is "a coincidence of measure between the great Egyptian pyramid at its base, and that of the Noachic ark which cannot be accidental[4]," we

[1] Classical Tour in Italy and Sicily, i. 13. and 44.
[2] See Greaves's Pyramidographia.
[3] Man schlichtete ungeheure Steinhaufen pyramidenförmig auf. — *Barth. Ueber die Druiden der Kelten*, p. 74.
[4] O'Brien on the Round Towers of Ireland, p. 267.

may at once perceive the reason of their anxiety to raise in the most appropriate situations these double emblems of their ancestors' deliverance. The Alps have derived their name, not from their colour, nor yet from their height, but from these inferior consecrated spots; for Alp was a word used by the Germans, to signify those moderate heights, in the bosom of a lofty mountain, that are covered with grass[1], which are exactly the spots the most appropriate for these sacred structures. We learn from Livy, that the mountain's god was worshipped on Mount Cenis, under the name of Penninus[2], who has more durably given his name to the Apennines; and it is a name manifestly derived from the Celtic Pen, a height or mountain. It may possibly be thought, that the mountain itself being in this instance the object of veneration, it is not a case in point, and falls not within our present scope: but a confusion of this sort, introduced by the grossness of idolatry, by no means contradicts the original design. It has been already shown, that Atlas was an Arkite mountain; but there is a part of that range projecting into the sea, and almost

[1] Alb, Alp, die, bedeutet eigentlich im Oberdeutschen die mittlern mit gras bewachsenen Stellen der hohen Berge. — *Allgemeines Deutsches Conversations Lexicon*, 1834.

[2] At Aoste in Savoy there is an inscription Deo Penino, and another Jovi Poenino. Aoste is at the confluence of the Dora Baltea, with a torrent from the foot of the Grand St. Bernard, and commands both passes, the Grand and the Petit. — *Archæ.* v. 131. Ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice Penninum montani adpellant, Liv. lib. xxi. c. 38. Barth takes him to be the same as the Scandinavian Thor, and the Celtic Taranis. Now Tor in Irish, according to Vallancey, signifies a Prince; Ann, a Stone Pillar, and Ess, a Ship: so that we may extract this meaning from it, the royal pillar of the Ship; but in Hebrew, Tsor or Tur is a Tower, Turris, or a Rock.

surrounded by it, which is thus described: it was hollow, and lofty, and open to the sea; and it was, to the western Libyans, both a temple and an idol.[1] The Macedonian Athos was another worthy representative of the diluvian mountain: like Atlas, it was nearly surrounded by the sea; and the cells of the Caloyers, who now inhabit it, were doubtless, in former times, cells of the Arkites: for from the earliest periods of history, down to the present day, it has been a holy mountain. A legend has been preserved respecting it, which, through the usual obscurity, discovers to us enough of light to discern its original design. In the war of the giants against the gods, which, it has been already shown, relates to the æra of the Deluge, the giant Atho tore up this mountain from the Thracian soil, where it was founded below an immeasurable pool[2], and hurled it to its present place. Why should the fable represent it as surrounded with water in its original situation, unless there were some traditional belief, that a mountain surrounded by immeasurable waters was in truth its prototype? But the origin of the name is better deduced from a very different source. It is stated by Pausanias, that Jupiter Athous[3] was worshipped on the top of the mountain: but Athous in Greek signifies exempt from

[1] Τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις ἱερόν ἐστι καὶ ἀγάλμα ὁ Ἄτλας — ἔστι δὲ ὁ Ἄτλας ὄρος κοῖλον, ἐπιεικῶς ὑψηλὸν, ἀνεφγὸς πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος. — *Maximus Tyrius.*

[2] Οὐδηθέντος ἀμετρήτῳ ὑπὸ λίμνῃ.

Nicander apud Stephanum corrected by Is. Vossius. The Thrace here mentioned is probably Samothrace, which was famous for a worship and traditions plainly Arkite.

[3] Ἀθῶος, ὁ ἐπὶ Ἄθῳ τοῦ ὄρους ἱδρυμένος ἀνδριὰς ὁ Ζεύς — *Hesych.*

punishment[1]; and how can that term be applied to Jupiter, unless the person so worshipped, were in reality the patriarch. So great is its height, according to Solinus, that its top reaches above the clouds.[2] The assertion is probably correct: for it can be seen at a distance of ninety miles, and clouds charged with rain very frequently descend below the summits of less lofty hills; but the mode by which he arrives at this conclusion is somewhat extraordinary: his reason is, because the ashes are never washed down from the altars which it bears on its top, and the mounds which they form never diminish in size. But how could hecatombs enough be offered at so great an elevation to form the mounds of which he speaks? Or, if the term he uses (aggeres) be an ill-chosen and hyperbolical expression, still how happens it that these ashes, undisturbed as they might be by the rains, were also spared by the violent winds, to which they were sure to be exposed? It may well therefore be suspected that neither he nor those whose opinion he expresses, had ever climbed to the mountain top; but they had heard of altars there, and were disappointed at not seeing ashes brought down, for which they accounted after their own fashion: they had heard, too, that it was a place of safety from floods of water.

Another remarkable hill temple is that called

[1] Ἄθως, qui sine mulctâ evasit. — *Scapula.*

[2] Est sane Athos sublimis adeo, ut æstimetur altior quam unde imbres cadunt. Quæ opinio eo fidem concepit, quod in aris, quas cacumine sustinet, nunquam cineres eluantur, nec quicquam ex aggeribus suis perdunt, sed in quo relicti cumulo permaneant. — *Jul. Solin. Polyhistor.* c. 11.

Mehentélé in Ceylon. It is on the border of a lake; and has on the area at the top several small Dagobas, or mounds of earth, inclosing in the centre one of larger dimensions, and surrounded by a stone wall, within which are fifty-two pillars of granite. To the westward, a large Dagoba rises to the height of 120 cubits. On the eastern side are the dwellings of the priests, above which a bare rock of granite rises abruptly, surmounted at the very summit by a heap of stones, precisely similar in character to those met with in Scotland and on the Alps. From this height no less than 360 small Dagobas are to be seen. It is evident that these Dagobas are equivalent to the Celtic Cairns; for at Anarajapura, seven of great height and extent have a hollow space in the inside, where relics are placed, and some of them have three parallel rings of pillars round them. They have, therefore, a near affinity to the Budhist temple in their neighbourhood, which is a square of pillars, that once had a brazen chamber in their centre, containing formerly, as tradition says, a relic held in high veneration, which, during a period of persecution, was destroyed. It is called the Temple of a Thousand Pillars, and the pillars are 100 cubits high.[1]

[1] Trans. As Soc. iii.. p. 472—490.

CHAP. XXI.

CIRCLES OF STONES. — CARNAC. — ST. MICHAEL. — BRITISH NOT ASTRONOMICAL. — IN ASIA. — IN AFRICA.

THE Druidical temple at Carnac, in Bretagne, belongs to the same class of monuments, though the largest portion of it presents the same subject under a different form, which must next engage our attention. It is in truth the largest in the world, for it extends over a space of eight miles; and although the continuity is now so broken by considerable interruptions, that it is impossible to trace the original design, yet the remaining portions are sufficiently near, to show that there must have been a unity of purpose in those who reared these gigantic structures: and it would be surprising, indeed, if the same utilitarian contempt for antiquities, which has almost demolished the temple of Abury, in this country, had not also sought materials for walls and houses out of the long avenues of Carnac. The cone of earth is not equally destructible, though its figure is apt to receive a little alteration from the hand of time: at Penab it has a bell-shaped form; and measures 206 feet in perpendicular height, and 330 at the base. St. Michael's Mount is a natural hillock, which has been raised artificially to so great a height as to be seen through a circuit of many miles.

M. Mahé, observing that it was evidently once conical, is at a loss to imagine the reason why St. Michael should be always seated on the summit of a cone; and he conjectures, that the first Christians of Brittany, perceiving the veneration with which the half-converted people regarded these sacred hills, built churches and chapels upon their summits, to turn the devotional feelings of the suppliants into a right channel, and so wean them gradually from all their old superstitions.[1] M. Mahé is so far perfectly in the right; and he might have found ample confirmation of his conjecture in the traditions about St. Michael's Mount, near Abergavenny. It is an isolated mountain, with a chapel on its top, to which pilgrims resorted to fetch away earth, which was supposed to have been brought from Jerusalem. Stukeley says[2] they think the hill was sent thither by St. Patrick out of Ireland; that is, the Christian priests wished to legitimise the pilgrimages of their neophytes by identifying the Mount with the hill of Sion: but still the old persuasion could not be rooted out, — that the rites originally observed there, were modelled from the old religion of Ireland: for so St. Patrick's legendary name is often to be interpreted; and it will be well to remember this evidence, that

[1] Thus, for example, the common places of worship in some parts of Scotland are built on the foundations of certain small buildings, called Tiamples, or Chapels. Those which still remain are found in sequestered situations, and named after some holy man, and held in great veneration. One of them is placed on the side of a small stream, on the extremity of a very lofty promontory. — *Trans. Soc. Ant.* i. 289.

[2] Archæologia, v. 35.

the Irish were Arkites, when we come to speak of the round towers so remarkable in their island. The earth on the top of the Mount was sacred long before. It was the same universal sanctity, on account of which the Lamas, and other religious persons in Thibet, are carried for burial to the top of some mountain.[1] It was the same sanctity which induced Alexander to offer his sacrifices in testimony of gratitude to his gods on the summit of twelve enormous mounds, or high places, as lofty, and of more extent than the greatest towers. Arrian affirms that Alexander constructed them[2]: but since they were situated quite at the termination of his march eastward on the banks of the Hyphasis (or Biah), it is quite incredible, that, for his sake alone, if they had no other claims for veneration, the Indians, who were never under his dominion, would have been in the habit three centuries afterwards of crossing the Ganges every year, in order to sacrifice upon those altars.[3] By this explanation, however, the main difficulty with respect to St. Michael, is only removed one step further back: the question still remains unanswered[4], why St. Michael has been chosen rather than any other angel, or saint; and why he should take these hills under his peculiar protection? It may be of some assistance in solving this problem, to recollect the

[1] Journal of a Voyage in Alphabetum Tibetanum.
[2] Expeditions of Alexander, lib. v. c. 6. [3] Rollin, p. 589.
[4] For instance, there is a St. Michael's Mount on the coast of Cornwall, a lofty rock insulated by high tides; and there is another on the opposite coast at Avranches, near the northern boundary of Bretagne, equally insulated, and more remarkable on account of its excavations; some of which have been converted into dungeons.

exploit ascribed by Milton to that prince of the celestial host: for he only spoke the sense of antiquity, when he described him smiting down Satan, who

> "Gnashed for anguish, and despite, and shame,
> To find himself not matchless, and his pride
> Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
> His confidence to equal God in power." [1]

To this ancient opinion St. John alludes, when, in predicting the overthrow of the antichristian power, he describes it under this image: "Michael and his angels fought against the Dragon—and the great Dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world [2];" for it is to be remembered, that the Deluge viewed by those who had lost sight of Revelation, not as a punishment, but as an effort of the evil principle to destroy the creation, was personified by a serpent either surrounding a globe, or wreathed round a staff, or club, the emblem of the Diluvian Mountain.[3] They who adopted this view of the subject, were anxious to propitiate a being of so much power; and therefore worshipped him much after the manner of a certain nominal Christian, who had a trick, whenever he mentioned the name of the Devil, of prefixing to it some title of honour; and the cause of such a singular cus-

[1] Paradise Lost, b. vi. 340. [2] Revelations, xii. 7. 9.

[3] So intimately are they associated in Sanscrit that the same word signifies both a mountain and a snake, Naga. — *Upham on Budhism.* Why then in ancient drawings do we always find Æsculapius, the giver of health, holding a club with the serpent twined round it? It was a fragment of truth accidentally preserved; for the Deluge healed the earth which it surrounded, by washing away its mortal sins; hence he is represented in one instance resting upon the club or mountain. — *Montfaucon,* i. 286. pl. 187.

tom being inquired, he replied, that if the worst should come to the worst, it was better not to affront so formidable a person, by neglecting to speak of him with respect. Mr. Deane, therefore, is probably right, when he denominates this ancient monument a Dracontium, or temple of the serpent [1], and that opinion is confirmed by etymology: for Hak, or Ak, in the old Breton language, as well as in the old Persian and ancient British, is said to have signified a serpent. In that case it is obvious, that Carnac means the Cairn, or hill of the serpent[2]; and Le Maenac, another spot over which this temple extends, signifies the stones of the serpent: and since Oub has the same signification, Penab is the head of the serpent.[3] But still the conqueror of the serpent was more respected than his vanquished adversary, and, accordingly, Michael, which being interpreted is, "Who but God," is placed on the summit of the hill, where his victory was most conspicuous; and the priest, who took his name from the god whom he served, as the Pythoness did from Python, was called by a name which he has transferred to the Christian priest, Belech, which is equivalent to Bel Ak, the Lord of the Serpent; and thus we see how Bel and the Dragon came to be associated together in the Aprocryphal book, which goes by that name.[4]

Balak the king of Moab was perhaps one of these

[1] Deane's Observations on Dracontia, p. 23.

[2] Exactly the same name occurs near Thebes in Egypt, and that Carnac too is a temple belonging to the same religious system.

[3] Ibid. p. 30.

[4] Numbers, xxii. and xxiii.

priests; for among the heathen nations the pontifical and regal characters were often united in one person; and we may observe that he offered sacrifices and introduced Balaam into the high places of Baal, which the Greek version calls Stelæ, or pillars. St. Michael is exhibited in his character of Lord of the Serpent upon an antique gem, where he appears grasping the neck of that monster, and treading upon his body.[1] If M. Mahé had taken these circumstances into his consideration, he would not have been surprised to find him placed so frequently on the summit of a cone, nor disposed to ridicule the idea, that he was in the middle of a vast Dracontium. Nevertheless, his views upon this subject in another respect are perfectly correct: he holds, that the stones which cover that extensive area, were erected there for the purpose of worship by worshippers of stones[2]: and certainly it would be difficult to imagine a more imposing scene than would be there presented to the eyes of the votaries of that singular superstition; for they are planted in eleven long unequal rows with an average distance between them of 350 feet[3]: ten thousand of them have been counted, and some are fifteen feet in height. They appear to have extended from sea to sea across the tongue of land on which Quiberon stands. But why should any being possessed of one particle of reason pay divine honours to a stone? Of all the phænomena of religious eccentricity this is surely the most unaccountable upon all the or-

[1] Hoffmann. [2] Deane, p. 38.

[3] Roberts mentions sixteen rows, and the broadest only forty paces wide. — *Antiquities of Wales*, p. 50.

dinary principles of human action. The elements may appear to the materialist invested with a creative power, and therefore to be worshipped. The heavenly bodies have a refulgence and a glory, which clothes their majestic motion with a mysterious awfulness, and may impress the ignorant spectator with a belief, that they are superior intelligences, the guardians of this dark earth: and if it were possible, that men could be the vicegerents and representatives of God after death, it might seem no unreasonable homage to their deified spirits to honour the statues which were supposed to resemble and distinguish them. But what motive could tempt any man to expose himself to the derision of worshipping a mere shapeless mass of stone? If nothing of the same kind therefore were to be seen elsewhere, it would be quite incredible that religion would account for the stones at Carnac: it might be supposed that they were a freak of some capricious potentate setting all reason at defiance. But when we find monuments of the same description, though not of the same extent, spread over a large portion of the ancient world, it is impossible not to refer them to some general principle; and we are forced to conclude, that if we could only go deep enough into the history of error, we should find the root from which they all originate. In the British Isles they particularly abound, sometimes single, sometimes in a line, sometimes circular, as at Rolldritch and Stonehenge. No doubt can be entertained, that both these circles were constructed upon the same prin-

ciples, and by the same sort of people. It has been contended, that the latter exhibits a knowledge of astronomy, and is nothing less than a huge orrery representing a part of the solar system. But with respect to the former, the Welsh have preserved a tradition, which seems almost intended to contradict that hypothesis, and to prove that their origin must be referred not to the certainties of science, but to the mysteriousness of a dark superstition. It is said, that the number of the stones in the circle cannot be reckoned truly, for that in reckoning them a second time the number will be found different from that of the first.[1] Maburg near Penrith is a large circular area inclosed with a bank, in the centre of which three or four large irregularly shaped stones once stood, of which however only one remains. The Giant's Grave consists of two pillars, five yards apart, and four in height; and between them four stones, forming segments of circles, inclose a narrower space of ground than is usually taken up by a common grave. The vulgar name therefore is as entirely a misnomer, as the Giant's Thumb in the churchyard, which is six feet high, and has a three-headed summit, pierced with two holes. The use of these may be conjectured from that to which a similar monument in the Orkneys was actually applied not very long ago. At Stenhouse in Pomona there is a semicircle, or rather a crescent[2], of those stones commonly called

[1] Roberts's Antiq. of Wales, p. 220.

[2] Maurice notices this as well as a similar monument at Trer Drew, or Druid's Town in Mona or Anglesey, and observes, that their crescent-like forms evince the original purpose of their fabrication.—*Ind. Antiq.* vi. 121.

Druidical, and on the right of it another single stone, eight feet high, three broad, and nine and a half thick, with a round hole on the side next the lake. About 1770 a young man was convicted of seducing a girl under promise of marriage. The elders were particularly severe, and their reason was, that he had broken the promise of Odin; that is, a promise made by the contracting parties joining their hands through this hole.[1] Now it is certain, that the elders knew more of Noah than they did of Odin. If therefore the legendary veneration for the stone imparted so great a solemnity to the contract in their eyes, notwithstanding their utter disbelief of the subject of that legend, what should hinder us from transplanting the founder of all that veneration out of the regions of fable into those of real history, and recognising in Odin one of the Patriarch's immediate descendants[2],

[1] Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries, i. 263.

[2] Annius of Viterbo, the false Berosus, calls Britain Samothea from Samothes, the sixth son of Japhet. Odin is perhaps the same as that Teithan who was the great Hu of the Britons, the god of the mysteries, the thundering Beli. Budd was the giver of good, the Lord of the sea, the teacher of agriculture, the Stammvater of all men. — *Barth, Ueber die Druiden,* p. 66. And in that case, what was said of Eubœa will be true of Britain: Titanas in eâ antiquissime regnasse ostendunt ritus religionum.— *Sol. Polyhist.* c. 11. Teithan may be a jumble between Teuth and Woden; for they were the same person. Teut, says Barth, was the same as Belenus, and Kronus, and Bacchus; for Bacchus, and Hercules, and Mercury were all one. But Mercury was Budda, and so was Woden; but it is also possible that the T in the beginning may have been only a prefix; as in Yorkshire at this day, The Horse is abbreviated into Torse: and no more violence would be done to the word, than that of which the Romans were guilty, when they converted the old Etrurian Esar into Cæsar, which, according to Suetonius, signified Dominus, and so coincided with the Esa and Iswara of the Hindoos, and the Isis and Osiris of the Egyptians.

probably the same whose memory has been preserved under the names of Budha and Woden. The other pillars at Penrith serve in a different way to illustrate the same propensity to receive into the service of religion the sacred monuments of a former age; for they were enlisted in the cause of Christianity by the inscription of the cross. At Barkisland, which may be either the Shipisland, or the Baris-land, on Ringstone Edge Moor, in the parish of Halifax, there is a small ring of stones, which, though rude and confused, have been considered of importance enough to give their name to the whole moor on which they stand.

At Stansfield, is a pillar called the Bride, five yards high: another, now thrown down, is called the Groom, which evidently means the bridegroom, and the two names denote the union of design in both those monuments. Near Boroughbridge, three pillars, nearly in a straight line, but at a considerable distance from each other, are denominated the Devil's Arrows [1]; where we may perceive the same symptoms of religious strife, as in the conflict between Hercules and Jupiter, who is said to have used stones for weapons. Borlase observes that, in a village called Mên Perken, which is equivalent to The Stone of Barkisland, there stood, about five years before he wrote, a large pyramidal stone, twenty feet above the ground: but alas! it has

[1] In Sowerby there is a rude stone pillar of the same sort, very mossy, and near six feet high. At Rudstone, in Yorkshire, there is another twenty-four feet high. The Clack an Druidshall in the Hebrides stands alone on a moor with no tradition of its use: it is sixteen feet high, four in breadth, and three in thickness.

been cut away into stone posts for gates; and in the sides of Sharpy Tor and Wringcheese, he saw many large stones of a rude columnar shape, now lying prostrate, but formerly without doubt erect.[1] These stones are usually arranged in a circle; and upon this subject the same writer has a remark which, when the diligence with which he studied it is considered, must be allowed to go far towards demolishing the astronomical hypothesis; for because in one or two instances it has been supposed, upon very slight evidence, that some smaller circles consisted originally of thirty stones, and the larger ones of 360, it has been argued, that they represented the revolution of the moon round the earth, and of the earth round the sun; although neither the one number nor the other corresponds accurately to the fact. In the same way, and with as little foundation, Vallancey contends that the Irish dedicated their obelisks to the sun and moon, to Moloc Bal and Eaga Bal; for, says he[2], Molc is fire, and Eag, or Eac, is the moon, as well as Re and Ire; in Arabic Riha. But he himself refutes his own statement, that Molc is an epithet of the sun, by adding from Juriev an acknowledgement, that "Le Moloch des Syriens étoit très assurement le Saturne des Romains et des Grecs;" for it has been shown that Saturn, the first Melech, or King, was certainly the Patriarch Noah; and therefore we are not surprised to find, that, in the land of Ham, his son, under the name of Osiris, is de-

[1] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 156.
[2] Vindication of Ireland in Collectanea, iv. 214.

scribed in an inscription upon an Egyptian column mentioned by Evander as the eldest of all men, after his parents, king Cronus and Rea.[1] But that obelisks should be dedicated to Rea, which is, as Vallancey rightly interprets it, the moon, or to Eac, which is the same as the Egyptian Ioch, is only the natural consequence of their connection with the horns of her crescent, since both are in truth memorials of the same thing. Hence the pillar stone was called by the Irish, Barr Chean[2], which seems to have the same relationship to the Bari of the Egyptians, and the Chann or Chandra of the Hindoos: and hence Sophocles speaks of Artemis, or the moon, as giving renown to the circular throne of assembly[3]; where we may also observe, that, on account of the reverence in which these circles were held, we may conclude that the elders and chiefs sometimes assembled there, to deliberate on important matters, like the Witten-agemot of our ancestors. But that they had any connection with astronomical science, is a notion most evidently disproved by the description which Borlase gives of those which he had examined. In the circular monuments, says he, the number of the stones is for the most part different, and their distance from one another: he had not noticed in any more than seventy-seven. In or near the centre of some stands a stone taller than the rest; in the

[1] Orphic Poems in the Fragments, p. 365.

[2] Vallancey translates Barr Chean fastigium capitis (p. 470.), which is an interpretation wholly destitute of meaning, as far as I can see. But Barr is properly in Irish a hill; and the pillar was a representative of the hill of the moon.

[3] Ἀ κυκλόεντ' ἀγορᾶς θοόνον εὐκλεᾶ θάσσει. — *Æd. Tyr.* 167.

middle of others a Kistvaen, or stone cavity; a Cromlech distinguishes the centre of some circles, and some remarkable rock that of others.[1] Now it has never been pretended that Kistvaens, and Cromlechs, and shapeless rocks were ever considered emblems of the sun; but they were Arkite monuments, and had a relation to the Deluge, which has been partly explained, and will be further elucidated by and bye. But moreover, the form is sometimes oval; as at Kerris, in Cornwall. Will it be said the Druids knew that the orbit of the earth was elliptical? On a cairn adjoining to the Giant's Castle in St. Mary's, Scilly, the back of the rock is cleared of all unevenness, and the area measures 172 feet in one direction, and only 138 in the other, and there is no uniformity in the shape of the stones, and they do not seem to have been placed at any calculated equal distances.[2] The same evidence is given by Mr. Anderson, who had examined several hundred of such places. His opinion is, that stones placed in a circular form, and for the most part on an eminence, were evidently places destined for religious worship; but they are quite irregular in size and shape: only the largest seem to have been selected; but no particular number of stones seems to have been preferred to any other. It was enough that the circle should be distinctly marked out. But not only were they quite unconnected with the motions of the heavenly bodies, but, in some instances, especial pains seem to have been taken to mark their diluvian origin. For they are all situ-

[1] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 181. [2] Ibid. p. 187.

ated very near water, by the side of a lake or river; and at Trescow, in Scilly, a great rude stone, nineteen feet in length, has a circular trench round the bottom, edged with a line of rude and unequal stones. If therefore the trench were filled with water, the central rock would be insulated. So also on a high hill, called Karn Menelez [1], the central pillar is formed by four flat stones, placed one upon another, the upper one which is circular, being nineteen feet in length; and that too is surrounded by a trench with a diameter like the other, of about six and thirty feet.[2] In the Island of Lewis, or, as the Gaels pronounce it, Leohus, one of the Hebrides, there is a circle of stones, on a rising ground, above the village of Calernish, with one in the centre, which is exceeding high. Each of them has a hollow round its base, which retains the rain water; and round that in the centre, the principal representation of the Diluvian Mount, it is very wide.[3] It is remarkable that these circles, of which there are many in the island, are called by the country people Tavursanan; for since Tavursach signifies mournful, it is an expression very suitable to the memorial of that tragic catastrophe, by which a world was lost; and it reminds us of the mourning rites in India and in Egypt. Another of these circular temples in Harries, which is another of the Western Isles, and the most westerly of them all, is most unequivocally Arkite; for in the

[1] Menelez seems to be, Mên, the stone — El Ess, of the god of the ship.

[2] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 189.

[3] Trans. of Soc. of Antiq. i. 285.

middle of twelve obelisks, about seven feet high, it has another in the centre nearly twice that height, shaped like the rudder of a ship.[1] These circles abound along the Grampians; for the Arkite system clung most tenaciously to islands, and to mountains. Yet the rule does not always hold good; for the Arkites being divided into sects, one form of commemoration was chosen by one party, and one by another: hence the conical towers abound in Caithness, but are not found south of Inverness; while, on the other hand, the circles are not to be seen to the south of the Grampians, nor to the north of Inverness.[2] The Cattæ, who peopled the former country, were a distinct race from the Celts, who settled themselves in the latter district; and therefore the two modes of commemorating the same event introduced by two perfectly different tribes, who entered the country in all probability from two opposite quarters, the one arriving from the north, and the other from the south, or at least from Ireland, strongly corroborate the argument in favour of the Arkite hypothesis, when both are perceived to have a natural and obvious connection with that event, which they are supposed to commemorate.

But the circles which are commonly called Druidical have obtained that designation for no other reason than this: they are the oldest religious monuments with which we are acquainted; and the history of religion in this country goes back no

[1] Maurice's Ind. Antiq. vi. 122.
[2] Archæologia, by Mr. Anderson, vol. v.

higher than the Druids. But it is evident that they had no dependance upon the local peculiarities of Druidism; for similar circles have been discovered in various and distant regions of the ancient world, regions in which the name of Druid was never heard. Clarke observed them on Ida, and on Lebanon; Ouseley in Persia[1]; Heber[2] and Coxe in Sweden and Norway, where they usually surround a small hill containing a cell or stone-built grotto. A physician sent by the emperor of Russia in 1721 to explore Siberia found about the middle of the Steppe to the west of the town of Krasnogar a kind of needle, or spire, cut out of one white stone about sixteen feet high, and some hundreds of other small ones about four or five feet high set round about the first, although there are no quarries for a hundred leagues round about, from whence those stones could be dug.[3] In Africa the pillar of Mazora, known to the Moors by the name of El Uted, or the Peg, is placed on the edge of a large circular tumulus, which is nearly surrounded by irregularly shaped upright stones eighty-six in number, and in general about a yard asunder: some are three or four feet high, and two or three are conical. The pillar is a single block of stone sixteen feet high, and nine in circumference. A few feet from the ground, in the same vicinity, there are other groups of similar stones, one of which is

[1] Travels in the East, ii. 132.

[2] Heber mentions the number of Runic columns in Sweden, and a cairn with a circle of stones. — *Life by Mrs. Heber*, p. 49.

[3] Account of Northern Asia, 1729, by Abul Ghazi, ii. 556.

conical.[1] About a hundred yards to the north of the pillar is a collection of nine other stones, like the circle near Rowtor Rocks, called The Nine Ladies, with a single stone near them called The King. In former times it would have been called Moloch, whom Milton appropriately describes as a "sceptred king, whose trust was with the Eternal to be deemed equal in strength."[2] Thus the mountain peak was confounded by idolatry with the Patriarch, and admitted to a share of his regal honours. But sometimes the Arkite priests personated the Lord of the mountain, of whom they were supposed to be successive incarnations, and so the rock idols became representatives of the priests, and consequently were multiplied, according to the caprice of superstition. Strong evidence in confirmation of this view of the subject is furnished by the sovereign pontiff of the Tatars even at the present day. He is called the Dalai Lama[3], or oceanic priest: he pretends to divinity, and passes in the opinion of those of his worship for immortal: he lives at the top of a very high mountain, near Putala, on the confines of China; and 20,000 Lamas, or priests, dwell in several circles round about it.[4] Here then we have a mountain divinity, whose title is derived from the ocean, of which the nearest point is many hundred miles distant from his residence, and a circular arrangement of persons, who have a sacred connection with their exalted chieftain. When

[1] Brookes's Travels in Morocco, ii. 44. [2] Paradise Lost, ii. 43.

[3] Dalai signifies a vast extent, or the ocean; but the latter is obviously the primary meaning of the word.

[4] Account of Tartary, from the notes of Abul Ghazi, ii. 486.

therefore Olaus Magnus tells us that it was one of Woden's laws to erect high stones on the graves of famous men, we may easily perceive how that tradition took its rise, since Woden is no other than Budh, and Putala is the Alaya or residence of Phut.

CHAP. XXII.

INSTANCES OF THE WORSHIP OF PLAIN STONES. — STORY OF NIOBE EXPLAINED. — INTRODUCED INTO ITALY BY DIOMED. — IN AFRICA. — IN ASIA. — THEIR VARIOUS FORMS.

But it is possible that they, who have never examined or considered this subject sufficiently, may doubt whether a mere stone, with no pretence of resemblance to any organised being, was ever in fact regarded as an object of religious veneration. I proceed therefore to adduce evidence to this effect from various quarters of the world. First then in classic mythology, which most particularly deified the human form, and in countries where the arts sprung up into such sudden maturity, that neither want of skill nor want of taste could be supposed to restrain the hand of the carver, plain stones were worshipped. The representation of Venus Urania, of whose temple the Greeks could give no account, was a quadrangular stone, like the Hermæ, which have been already noticed.[1] At Pharæ (from Bari) Hermes had a statue sacred to him, as well as a fountain; for water was made an appendage to the rock, wherever it conveniently could: but his statue was square at the bottom, and had about thirty rectangular stones around it, to which the Pharians gave the names of their

[1] Pausanias in Atticis, lib. i.

gods; and the historian declares, that in ancient times white stones received divine honours from all the Greeks[1] instead of statues. The same author describes a circle at Conia near the confluence of the Alpheus and the Elisson, in which there is a perpetual fountain, and near it a figure of Ammon resembling the quadrangular Hermæ, with the horns of a ram upon his head[2], probably like the Christian crosses, the work of a later age. But it has been shown, that even this Ham-mon takes us back to the Deluge for the reason of his apotheosis; and, accordingly, in another instance, his statue was a conical stone.[3] Hence it appears, that the conical stone conspicuous on Stanton Moor may properly be denominated a rock idol; and so may another conical stone, which Mr. Rooke represents on a knoll 200 yards from Harborough rocks, which are on the top of a hill, that may have been so denominated, because it was the Har[4], or hill of the Bari. It is in the centre of an area which was once inclosed by a bank of earth and a circle of stones.[5] So also in the neighbourhood of Cork a conical stone stands in the centre of a circle of nine[6]; and on the top of the adjoining hill another, also conical, is called the Gowlan Stone[7], probably from the Hebrew Gullah, which signifies round or rolled; but another inflection of the same word signifies waves, and is used in Job: "Here shall

[1] Pausanias in Achaicis, p. 579.
[2] Paus. in Arcadicis, lib. viii. c. 32.
[3] Quint. Curt. Var. p. 185.
[4] הָר, in Heb. mons.
[5] Archæologia, ix. 210.
[6] Smith's Hist. of Cork.
[7] Vallancey's Collectanea, vi. 179.

thy proud waves be stayed."[1] If this passage could have been known to those who first called it Gowlan, a more appropriate name for the representative of Ararat could not have been invented. Vallancey suggests, that it has some connection with Guilin, which means a dragon: it may be so; but since no resemblance to the form of a serpent has been discovered, the allusion can only be to the oceanic Dragon, and his circumvolutions round the earth. A similar association of ideas seems to have presented itself to the ancient Greeks, when they clothed the truth of history in this fable, Saturn is said to have thrown up again the stone which he swallowed, and it was placed in Pytho to be a sign and a wonder to mankind.[2] Now Python was the diluvian serpent, whom Apollo killed, either when the sun dried up the waters of the Deluge, or when his priests defeated the Arkites, and substituted his worship for their rites. But what could this stone be? and how could it be swallowed, or how disgorged? and why was it to be an object of wonder to mankind? and why is the term, employed to designate its design, that which the builders of Babel used with respect to their pyramid?[3] There is but one hypothesis upon which these questions can be answered. Saturn being Noah, the mountain represented by the stone is that which was swallowed up by the ocean, and afterwards re-appeared, when it subsided. It is true,

1 Chap. xxxviii. 11.

2 Σῆμ' ἔμεν ἐξοπίσως θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι.
Hesiod. Theogon. 500.

3 Σῆμα is סִימָן in Hellenic form.

that Noah himself did not devour the mountain; but some of the descendants from his sons, who divided the world between them, usurped in their behalf the Patriarchal honours; and in order to depose him from his supremacy, and transfer to his children, and especially to Ham-mon, who was afterwards called Jupiter [1], the pious veneration with which he was regarded, they pretended that the old man had devoured his children, the antediluvians, by bringing upon the earth that deluge which he most certainly predicted. And the place of concealment in which Jupiter escaped the same destruction was in the Argæan Mountain: but since Argo was the Ark, the Argæan Mountain can be no other than the mountain of the Ark. It has been already shown, that the worshippers of Ham-mon were not ill-disposed at first towards the Arkites, nor averse to their symbols and ceremonies; and a farther proof of this fact is furnished in the history of Niobe. After the death of her children, some of whom, however, according to Telesillas, were saved, she went from Thebes to Sipylus, a mountain above two rivers; and there Jupiter listening to her prayers changed her into a stone, from which tears flow night and day. [2] There can be no doubt that the history of this tragedy is in fact a history of a great defeat sustained by the Arkites on their own ground [3] at

[1] Hesiod says, that the object of Jupiter, which is a name deducible from Ζευς πετρος, was τιμῆς ἐξελάαν his father, v. 491.

[2] Apollodorus, lib. iii. p. 88.

[3] This country still exhibits evidence of its ancient religion; for the modern chapels, which exist every where in the vicinity of

Thebes, the place of the Ark, from the priests of the sun and moon. Ovid relates that one of these, whom he names Tiresias, instigated the people to bring sacrifices and incense to the altars of Apollo and Diana: Niobe protests against the innovation; boasts of her descent from Atlas; complains that her Numen is left unhonoured[1]; and persuades the people to desist. Stripped of poetical ornament, this is obviously the offence which provoked the slaughter of her children. A similar conflict is related in the next fable, where some Lycians are changed into frogs for resisting the same divinities; and the property of an altar is claimed for them, which was evidently constructed for another form of religion, for it was built in the middle of a pool[2]; and a partizan of the predominant sect hastened with a most suspicious jealousy to assure the narrator of the story when he visited the spot, that it belonged to no mountain god.[3] What need was there of such an assurance, unless it was the natural impression at first sight? and why should any one dream of a mountain deity in the middle of a marsh,

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Thebes, and indeed over all Bœotia, constructed from the ruins of ancient sanctuaries, prove the vast number of ancient Hiera and temples, which formerly abounded in this country.—*Clarke's Travels*, vii. 111. Among the various circumstances that peculiarly adapted it for the purpose of the Arkites, it may be mentioned, that one of its hills consists of a double truncated cone, and the plain is well watered. At Platana there is a well, which is still deemed sacred.

[1] Numen adhuc sine thure meum est. — *Metamorphoses*, lib. vi. fab. 2.

[2] In like manner the temple of the Moon at Ephesus was built in a marsh; for which the Abbé Tressan can conjecture no other reason than the hope of preserving it from earthquakes. — *Myth.* ii. 265.

Non hâc, o juvenis, montanum numen in arâ est.

unless the hypothesis for which I contend be just? The rock of Niobe, from which a considerable stream of water flowed, was certainly an apt emblem of the diluvian mount, weeping both for a world destroyed and for the slaughter of the Arkites: and it was on the top of a mountain, where the nymphs had their resting-places, or sanctuaries[1], who were accustomed to recreate themselves about Achelous. But the literal river Achelous in Ætolia was much too far distant from Sipylus to be intended here. We may therefore believe Maximus Tyrius, that the worship of Achelous was mythical[2], and to the same myth Acheles probably had some relation, being the name of the river which flowed down from Mount Sipylus, and, it may be, from the very rock into which Niobe was supposed to be changed. From a want of familiarity with this subject the commentators on Homer have fallen into a great mistake in that passage, where Achilles describes the fate of Niobe. It is there stated in very plain terms, that the people who would not bury her

Ὄθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
Νυμφάων, αἵτ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελωΐον ἐρρώσαντο.
Hom. Il. ω. 615.

[2] Κατα μυθον. The author of the Meteora attributes the Deluge of Deucalion, not to the rivers of Thessaly, but to Achelous; although tradition assigned it to the plain of Lycorea round Parnassus, a country far enough from Acarnania and Ætolia, where that river flows, lib. i. c. ult. Let it here be recollected, that under the cliffs of Parnassus Saturn's Stone was placed. Servius tells us, that the ancients used the word Achelous for all water, on account of the antiquity of the river. It is therefore very remarkable, that this Achelous was conquered by Hercules, after he had taken the form of a serpent and a bull. He was also the son of the earth, *i. e.* the first man; and a certain Staphylus found the grape first upon its banks. — *Serv. in Georg.* i. 9. and *Æneid,* iii. 300.

children were turned into stones by Jupiter[1]; but the Scholiast, forgetting that Cithæron, which was the scene of that tragedy, was remarkable for its rocks and crags[2], interprets it as if, in order to prevent their interment, Jupiter had made the people stony-hearted and unfeeling. Now I will not object to this interpretation, that it is utterly at variance with the usual style and phraseology of the poem, because it is very possible, that the book in which the passage occurs may have been penned by a different hand from the rest: but it is contradicted by the context, and by all the circumstances of the case, for Jupiter was Niobe's grandfather and father-in-law[3]; and he pitied her, and listened to her prayer, and the heavenly gods gave her children that interment which they could not obtain from their fellow-citizens and neighbours,—that is to say, the worshippers of Jupiter and his crew were more favourable to her cause than those whose idolatry was offered to the sun and moon. The metamorphosis therefore which the people underwent was not intended to be understood figuratively of their disposition, but as a punishment similar to that which the tradition of Cornwall has attached to three circles of stones in the parish of St. Cleere: they are called the Hurlers, and are said to have been men turned into stones for

1 ——— Λαοὺς δὲ λίθους ποίησε Κρονίων.—*Hom. Il.* ω. 611.

2 Actæon's dogs, set on by Diana, pursued him on that mountain—

Per rupes scopulosque, adituque carentia saxa.—*Ov. Met.* lib. iii.

And the Bacchanals of Euripides sate upon its lofty crags.—*Bacchæ*, v. 33. And one of them struck the rock with a thyrsus, and a copious stream of water issued forth, v. 703.

3 Jupiter alter avus: socero quoque glorior illo.—*Ov. Met.* l. vi.

hurling on the Lord's day.[1] But there is yet another link of connection between Niobe and the Arkites. It seems that Oceanus was her paramour, and Melibœa, their daughter, married Pelasgus[2], — a personage who has much perplexed the most laborious investigators of Grecian genealogies. Schubart, for instance, is sadly puzzled by an expression of Pausanias, which makes Aras older by three generations than Pelasgus (τοῦ Ἀρκάδος), the son of Arcas. But Pelasgus was, according to Periegetes, contemporary with the Autochthones. Certainly in the ordinary acceptation of the words it is a puzzling statement; for no such Pelasgus is known to history: and the Phliasians would not have described the age of their founder by reference to the age of a person obscure and unknown. Therefore he suggests, that he was so named, not from his father, but from his native country; and that he must have been an Arcadian. But after all he confesses that his explanation is good for nothing, since the said Pelasgus was an Argive, and the son of Triopas.[3] He would have found, however, all his difficulties vanish, if he had considered, what seems wholly to have escaped him, that religious and mythical traditions are continually interwoven with all early history. Arkas and Autochthon equally relate to a peculiar form of religion, and Pelasgus was an Arkite.[4] A ray of light seems to

[1] Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 198.
[2] Apollodorus, lib. iii. p. 88.
[3] Quæstiones Genealogicæ Historicæ by J. H. C. Schubart, p. 31.
[4] Arcas is quite a mythological character: he was the son of Jupiter, and his wife was not a mortal; and his sepulchre was called

have gleamed upon him, if he had only followed it up to its source, in this confession: "If it be true, as the Greeks say, that the Pelasgi received their name from their king Pelasgus, we know nothing of the original name of the nation; but we cannot doubt, that this denomination is more ancient than Pelasgus, since there is sufficient proof that this most numerous people were not confined within the narrow limits of Argolis, but occupied the extensive coasts of the Ægean Sea." And, "it is very probable, that the part of Peloponnesus afterwards called Argolis was first inhabited, and that from that seminary many other regions of Greece, not only in Peloponnesus, but in the northern provinces as well as other foreign lands, received their inhabitants, their arts, and their religion."[1] Now what that religion was, has been already shown; and the subject will receive further illustration, if we attend to the name of the principal place in that district, the nature of its situation, and the sacred monuments there, which still remain. From our knowledge of the ship Argo we can have no doubt that Argos took its name from the Ark[2]; of which it was a very apt representative on account of the abundance of water around it. The approach to it is still by narrow causeways between ponds and

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the altar of the sun, Ἡλίου βωμοὶ, when the high places of the Arkites were taken from them by the worshippers of the sun. — *Pausanias in Arcadicis.*

[1] Ibid. p. 127.

[2] The Acropolis of Argos, the Larissean citadel, is a lofty conical hill, in the midst of a plain walled in by mountains. — *Clarke's Travels,* vi. 485. It resembles, therefore, the Indian mythical Meru.

inundated ricefields, through the marsh of Lerne, which is formed by the waters of the Phrixus and Erasinus.[1] The latter stream has its source in the Arcadian lake Stymphalus, renowned for the unfortunate birds, or priests, whom the apostate Hercules slew: but then descending into a chasm it pursues its course under ground for twenty miles, till, as if the fountains of the great deep were once more broken up, it issues forth again near Argos, which is also watered by the Inachus.[2] One might have supposed, therefore, that it had streams enough of its own, if any one had wished to pay divine honours to a river: and yet we find there a temple to Cephissus, a river of Bœotia, with which Argos had no natural connection whatever. Nevertheless a solution which will account for that phænomenon, and the only solution which will account for it, is visible enough to those who can see that Argos was the place of the Ark; for Cephissus belonged to the region which was the scene of Deucalion's Deluge[3]; and on its banks the oracle of Themis stood, to which the restorers of the dispeopled world repaired, when it subsided. That therefore was not a mere local flood, which so deeply interested the inhabitants of Argos. I do not deny that there may have been a local deluge: but if there was, it would not, as a mere natural calamity, have left any strong impression, except upon the inhabitants of that locality. It could only obtain

[1] Chateaubriand's Travels in Greece, p. 156.
[2] Sir W. Gell's Itinerary, p. 70.
[3] Bochart says, that Cephissus comes from the Arabic Chaphiz quod profundum notat.

its sanctity in the eyes of foreigners by its similitude to that more terrible flood which affected all mankind. How much the name of Argos was associated with supernatural inundation appears from this: a plain near Mantinea was called Argos, because the water descending from the mountains by divine command[1] makes it unproductive; and it would be an entire marsh, if the water did not escape through a chasm, till it rises again at Deine.[2] At the Argolic Argos, therefore, it is quite natural that we should find the temple of Neptune Prosclystius, the inundator, and a sacred cell, in which the Argive matrons deplored the death of Adonis; just as the Egyptians mourned the entrance of Osiris into the Ark, because it was a figurative death, and the signal of death to thousands: and that no feature of this great commemoration might be wanting, the Argives had also their temple to Jupiter, the Saviour. In the swamp of Lerna there is a species of island somewhat raised above the common level of the soil, on which a temple is supposed to have stood, corresponding, therefore, to that which has been found in ruins upon the island of Argo in the Nile[3]: and upon Mount Pontinus there was a temple of the Saitic, that is to say, the Egyptian Athene, which, if it be not the name of Neith read backwards, as I have already suggested, is probably, like Adonis, only a corruption from the Phœnician Athonai, Lord. From the foot of the Mount the fountain Amymone gushed, so

[1] Ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατερχόμενον. [2] Pausanias. Arcad. p. 210.
[3] Calliaud's Travels in Egypt: its dimensions are 273 ft. by 122.

called from a daughter of Danaus, whom Neptune had embraced; and there the Hydra lurked, which so long resisted the assaults of Hercules; and, finally, there was the spot where Neptune planted his trident, which gave it the name of Triaina.[1] It is not necessary to enter into a minute explanation of these particulars. They obviously confirm the statement, that the place was once the residence of Arkites, and there, accordingly, was the tomb of Pelasgus. It matters not who he was, nor when he lived, nor indeed whether it was a tomb at all, like many other buildings to which the same office has groundlessly been assigned. All that can be safely inferred from its traditional title is, that it is the oldest Arkite monument in Greece; for, as the Abbé Banier justly observes, the Pelasgi were the first people who settled in that country.[2] Herodotus reports that they came to Attica from Samothrace[3], from that island, in which the memory of the Deluge was most faithfully preserved, and the Arkite rites most tenaciously retained; and therefore at Athens, even in the time of Pausanias, the spot was shown, in which it was pretended that the waters of the Deluge sank into the earth again. All these circumstances conspire to show, that the union of Niobe's daughter with Pelasgus is not an historical fact, but a mystical alliance; and in further confirmation of this it may be observed, that Melibœa was the name of a place upon the

[1] Schol. on Phœniss. Eurip. Sir W. Gell's Itiner. 83. and 153.
[2] Vol. iii. 17.
[3] And from Athens they passed by Dodona into Italy and into Arcadia and Thessaly. — *Herod.* lib. ii. c. 50.

sea-shore of Thessaly, a country eminently Arkite, which had its own Achelous, and its own Thebes, or city of the Ark, and its own Ion, or river of the moon, and the port from which Argo was supposed to have sailed[1], and its mountains so celebrated in the wars of the giants with the gods. Melibœa was situated at the foot of Ossa, one of the mountains which were said to be piled one upon another for the express purpose, as Homer assures us, of reaching heaven[2]; which is in exact conformity with the design of those who constructed the mountainous monument in the plains of Shinar[3]: for they said, "Let us build us a tower, whose top may reach up to heaven." But these builders of mountains, these imitators of the men of Babel, though they are called the sons of the Ocean, were of much later date. They must have been persons who made a rash, and therefore ineffectual, attempt to restore the honours of the Diluvian Mount throughout their native country, at a time when the worship of the sun had taken too deep a root in some parts of it to be easily displaced. According to Seneca, there was once a period, when Ossa and Olympus were one mountain range; till Hercules rent them asunder, and opened a passage for the Peneus through the vale of Tempe; that is to say, the followers of the apostate Hercules were the

[1] Pagasæ.

[2] Ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἄμβατος εἴη. — *Hom. Od.* lib. xi. 315. Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus are mentioned both by Homer, and by Virgil, and by others, and in general the same order is observed, Pelion being at the bottom; but Virgil has reversed that order: he must have read ὑπὸ in Homer, instead of ἐπί.

[3] Gen. xi. 4.

authors of a schism, by which the worship of the sun was established northward of the Peneus: and accordingly Apollo is the power, to which the death of the giants is ascribed.[1] They are called giants, because they displayed extraordinary vigour in their attempt to consolidate their system over all the mountains of Thessaly; and they are represented as young and of immature age, because their scheme was ill-digested, and marked by the imprudence which characterises youth. It is further to be observed, that Magnesia was the district in Thessaly where Melibœa stood, and that Magnesia was the name of a city at the foot of Mount Sipylus. Moreover Melibœa was the name of an island at the mouth of the river Orontes, which was said to have been colonised by Thessalians. I conclude, therefore, that in one or other of these places Niobe, whoever she might be, introduced her own followers, and her native rites, of which the most eminent monument was that on Mount Sipylus.

From Argos, the veneration of sacred stones was conveyed further westward, and into Italy, not only northwards by the Alps, but also by coasting through the Mediterranean Sea. A singular account of this fact has been handed down to us by Lycophron, in his pretended Prophecy of Cassandra. Diomed, who, before the Trojan war, was the ruler of Argos, Tiryns, and Epidaurus, all places of Arkite celebrity, is said to have been deterred from returning to his dominions, when the war was over, by the adulteries of his wife Ægiale, or rather, as

[1] Hom. Od. xi. 317.

she is named by Homer, Ægialea. Now the whole of Peloponnesus was originally so named. Torni-elli, following the chronology of Eusebius, derives it from Ægialus, a king of Sicyon, who reigned in the days of Nimrod.[1] It is of little consequence from whence the name arose; but the fact being thus established, if it can be shown, as I have already in part attempted to show, that Diomed's history is in a great degree mythical, it will be reasonable to infer that the adulteries of Ægialea were like those of which the Jews are accused in Scripture, when they went after other gods. Diomed then repaired to the coast of Italy, on which the town of Bari[2] was afterwards built. It was the land of Daunus, which is probably the same as Danaus; for he is called the son of Danae, — that is, he was one of the followers of the Man of the Ship; for that there was really no such person as the Danaus of Grecian history, is the opinion of the best-informed scholars[3]: he is entirely a mytho-symbolical character. The father of this Daunus was Pilumnus, who, it is likely enough, was the same as Picus, the Man of the Peak (Pic), or hill:

[1] Anno 1966, 2d. mundi ætatis, 310. — *Annales Sacri*, p. 147. But there was another Ægialus, to whom Apis surrendered the kingdom of Argos, when he went into Egypt; and Ægialus is the name of a mountain in Æthiopia, and of another in Galatia.

[2] Bari mœnia piscosi. — *Horace.*

[3] Circa Danai in Græciam adventum multa sunt obscura, quæ vix unquam lucem accipient, quum neque de adventûs causâ liqueat, neque de ratione quâ imperio potitus est, neque denique de tempore quo appulit Danaus: contentionem enim cum Ægypto fratre, qualem poetæ et mythographi referunt, in causis historicis recensere, non patitur historiæ dignitas; fabulæ sunt ista et commenta, &c. quæstio vero mythico-symbolica ab opere meo alienum est. — *Schubart's Quæst. Geneal. Hist.* p. 135.

for Servius relates that he had a brother called Picumnus, which serves to mark the transition from one name to another; and if so, Daunus will be also the same as Faunus, by a change similar to that which has transmuted Jasus into Phegeus[1]: and it is the more likely, because Latinus is said to have been the son of one, and the son-in-law of the other. For it is to be remembered, that we are now expatiating in the regions of fable, and such genealogies are of no other use than to point out what notions were associated together in early tradition: and we have the authority of Vossius for rejecting all belief in the reigns of such persons as Janus, and Saturn, and Picus, and Faunus.[2] But to proceed with Diomed's voyage: he runs his keels ashore on the shingle that forms the bed of the sea, having thrown out of the ship the anchoring stone in the recesses of the Ausonians with colossal altars.[3]

[1] It is the opinion, at least of Petit Radel, that the Aezeus of Dion. Hal. i. 11., the Jasus of Schol. ad Eurip. Orest. 1642, and the Phegeus of Pausanias, viii. 24., are one and the same person; three forms of one name. For, "Aezeus et Jasus ne différaient sans doute que par une métathèse de dialecte, et Phégée ne différait des deux autres que par l'emploi du digamme Eolien dans la prononciation," p. 97.

[2] Pertinent ad Deos selectos. — *De Origin. et Progr. Idolol.* 90.

[3] Κολοσσοβάμων ἐν πτυχαῖσιν Αυσόνων
Σταθεὶς, ἐρείσει κῶλα χερμάδων ἔπι
Τοῦ τειχοποιοῦ δαπέδων Ἀμοιβέως,
Τὸν Ἑρματίτην νηὸς ἐκβαλὼν πέτρον. — *Lyc. Cass.* 618.

I suppose Neptune is here called Amoibeus on account of the gravelly beach, which is alternately left dry and covered by the tide; which is sufficiently perceptible in the Mediterranean, though not to the same extent as in the larger seas. Κολοσσοβάμων cannot be rendered according to the usual acceptation of βαμα in composition. For, why should the strides of the Ausonians be colossal. The rendering which I have given avoids nonsense, and is in conformity with the context, and with the meaning of the Hebrew Bamoth, or if βαμα comes from βαινω, so does βωμος.

Now these Ausonians were the most ancient inhabitants of Italy, as the Pelasgi were in Greece; and therefore some similarity in their religious customs might be expected; for the higher we ascend towards the source from which both proceeded, the greater is the probability of finding unity of sentiment. They are said to have derived their name from Auson: but that cannot be; for Auson was the son of Ulysses and Calypso, and consequently no Ausones could have been in existence at the time Diomed landed in their country; and whoever inhabited it, they at least were not the most ancient people of Italy.[1] But Festus maintains, that Auson is the same as Auron, by the not unusual change of R into S[2]; and, accordingly, they are identified with the Aurunci.[3] Since then Aren is in Hebrew an Ark, or Coffer, it might be presumed that they were Arkites. But the following passage establishes that fact beyond dispute. The pretended prophecy says[4], "He shall gird the plain with immoveable pillars, which no man shall pretend to move ever so little by force. For indeed they would instantly return back to their places, pressing the waves with footless steps;

1 Ut quidam volunt, antiquissimi Italiæ populi. —*Hoffmann.*
2 R pro S literâ sæpe antiqui posuerunt.
3 Aurunci Græcis Ausones nominantur. — *Servius.*
4 Στήλαις δ' ἀκινήτοισιν ὀχμάσει πέδον,
Ἃς οὔτις ἀνδρῶν ἐκ βίας καυχήσεται
Μετοχλίσας ὀλίγον· ἦ γὰρ ἀπτέρως
Αὐταὶ παλιμπόρευτον ἴξονται βάσιν,
Ἄνδηρ' ἀπέζοις ἴχνεσι δατούμεναι.
Θεὸς δὲ πολλοῖς αἰπὺς αὐδηθήσεται,
Οσοι παρ' Ἰοῦς γρώνον οἰκοῦνται πέδον
Δρ 'κοντα τὸν φθείροντα Φαίακας κτανών. — *Cassan.* 625.

and he shall be called a god seated on high by many, as many as dwell in the hollow plain of Io, for killing the dragon that destroyed the Phæacians." It is plain that the pillars were sacred pillars, and had a more than ordinary share of divinity attached to them, since they could perform such marvellous feats.

But the principal divinity of that region was the man whose temple was seated on a mountain projecting into the sea, or upon an insulated rock, and to whom the achievement was ascribed of conquering the diluvian dragon; for Diomed had a temple on Mount Garganus [1], and in an island not far from the promontory, which, therefore, bore his name: and the adjoining plain was called Ioh, from the moon's crescent resembling a Bari; and that was his only connection with the Phæacians, for they were reminded of their obligations to that power which triumphed over the Deluge, when its waters encompassed the globe like a huge serpent, by the likeness of a ship carved out of a rock. It is worthy of observation, that, in Homer's narrative of this transaction, Neptune makes it the great gravamen of his complaint against them, that, although they were of his own stock and family, they had slighted him [2], and Jupiter acknowledges him to be the oldest and best among the gods [3], and bulls were to be offered to him in

[1] Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 16.

[2] ——————— Με βροτοὶ οὔτι τίουσι
Φαίηκες, τοί πέρ τοι ἐμῆς ἔξεισι γενέθλης.
Hom. Od. xiii. 139.

[3] Πρεσβύτατον καὶ ἄριστον. Ibid. 142.

sacrifice. I have already shown that the superstition or policy of the Romish Church, transferred to Michael the arch-angel, as the vanquisher of the great serpent, some of the principal seats of Arkite worship; and in this instance, a legend of the ninth century supplies a striking illustration of the fact. Ado, Archbishop of Lyons, relates that a chapel, sacred to the Archangel now, because it was once blessed by his presence, was discovered on the summit of Mount Garganus, in the following manner: — out of the herds that fed in the plain below, one bull was accustomed to wander apart from the rest, and at last was found to be entirely missing. The owner ascended the mountain in quest of him, and found him standing before the entrance of a cave. An arrow discharged at the animal was driven back, as it were, by a blast of wind, and struck the archer: hence it appears that in this case as in the other, the bull was a sacred animal. The inhabitants of the nearest town, astonished and alarmed, consulted the bishop, who ordered a three days' fast, and promised to inquire of God; whereupon Michael appeared in a vision, and said, "I am Michael, the archangel, who always stand in the presence of God, and I intended to prove by this sign, that I am the guardian of that place, and the inspector of all things that are done there." The consequence of this vision was that prayers were offered for the intercession of the archangel at the mouth of the cave, but fear deterred them from entering within. Again, on the eve of a battle, he appeared to the bishop, after

another three days' fast, with a promise of victory in the next day's conflict, which was verified by the event; and when the people resorted to the same spot to pay their vows there, they observed the footsteps of a man impressed upon the marble, which was considered sufficient evidence of the archangel's presence, like Budha's in the East; and first, a small oratory was built there, and called Appodonia, from the miraculous footsteps; and afterwards, a church was dedicated to St. Peter, eastward of that spot. But still, it appears that all these contrivances failed to effect their purpose of destroying the superstitious and unecclesiastical awe with which the place was regarded, and still no one dared to enter the crypt. It was necessary, therefore, to resort to stronger measures; and accordingly the archangel appeared a third time to the bishop, after a similar fast, and enjoined the people to enter the church which he had consecrated to himself. Fortified by this revelation, they explored the sanctuary; and Ado relates, with great astonishment, that they found it, not like a building made by human hands, but very like a cavern, rough, and irregular, and rocky; the roof in some places so low that it would scarcely permit a man to walk upright; in others so much higher, that it could scarcely be reached with the hand: it contained a venerable altar near the wall, and from the roof above it some sweet and bright water trickled, endowed with miraculous virtues, by which the sick who resorted there had their diseases cured.[1] All this squares well with the character of Arkite

[1] Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xvi. 888.

sanctuaries, and is exactly what might be expected on the top of Garganus — the Caer, or oracle of Janus, or Ganesa, or Diomed, who had three[1] or four temples on the Adriatic coast, and a tower in Thrace, and built an Argos in Dauria[2], and whose companions were metamorphosed by the mythologists into water-birds, who frequented the rivers, and filled the rocks with their sad voices.[3]

It is doubted whether the Diomedea was a heron, or water hen[4]; but, whichever it may be, their association with rocks and mourning is so far from the truth of nature, that this circumstance alone is sufficient to show the nature of the myth: moreover Diomed had nothing to do with Thrace, except that he murdered its king, and stole his horses. There was, indeed, an elder Diomed of Thrace, who was also famous for his horses. But the whole of his story is clearly mythical; for it was one of the labours of Hercules to destroy him and his horses, which does not seem to be a very difficult or honourable exploit, unless it be interpreted figuratively. It has been shown that the horse was an Arkite emblem, and Thrace was an Arkite country; and since the other labours of Hercules were victories of a priesthood, the same may be concluded of this: at all events, the two histories seem to

[1] At Ancona; *Scylax in Periplo,* at the mouth of the Timavus (*Strabo,* lib. v.); and at Garganus.

[2] Argos Hippium contracted first into Argiripa and then into Arpi.

[3] Virg. Æn. xi. 273.

[4] In modern ornithology the Diomedea is an Albatross; and it answers well enough to Ovid's description of a bird about the size and colour of a swan; but then it does not frequent the Adriatic, nor is it ever seen in rivers.

have been blended together; for the famous horses of the Thracian were white[1], and a white horse was sacrificed to him of Italy, and his town was Argos Hippium. Proceeding from Italy across the Mediterranean, we shall find in Africa traditions that connect the sacred pillars of that country with the Deluge, either indirectly or directly. It is said of El Uted, the pillar of Mazorah, which has been already described, that Pharaoh king of Egypt made use of it as a peg, and picketted his horse with it on alighting there.[2] Now there is usually some foundation even for the strangest traditions, however incomprehensible they may seem at first. In the present instance, it is very plain that it cannot be based on any historical fact; for in its literal sense the story is ridiculous; and it would scarcely be more unlikely that the sun should rise in the west, than that Pharaoh should have rode on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean. But if the pillar were an emblem of the Diluvian Mount, it would easily be associated with the name of him who was surrounded and overwhelmed by the waters of the Red Sea. There is, however, another tradition concerning it, which is more directly to the purpose: it is reported that at the period of the general Deluge, when the foundations of the great deep were broken up, and after that the waters began to subside from the surface of the earth, Noah sent forth a dove from the Ark, which first alighted on the pillar of El Uted.[3] Now a

[1] Niveæ citæque bigæ. — *Catullus.*
[2] Brooke's Travels in Morocco, ii. 44.
[3] Ibid.

flight half across the globe is too much even for a pigeon: therefore the neighbouring range of Atlas, which it has been already shown was a sacred mountain of the Arkites, must have been the Ararat in that instance, and the pillar one of its crags; or else, the pillar alone represented that highest peak of the Diluvian Mountain, which was first laid bare by the retiring waters, and which, being then the only dry land, was the only place on which the dove could alight: and lest it should be thought that the tradition was an offspring of Islamism, introduced by the Arabs when they overran the north of Africa, be it further observed, that the sacredness of rocks is an opinion which long adhered to the untutored tribes, that live on the other side of the great desert. When Azambuja, the Portuguese, sent his men to work a quarry for the foundations of a fortress on the coast of Guinea, the rock was so much an object of veneration to the Negroes, that they flew to arms in order to save it from violation.[1] In the South Sea Islands the same feeling still prevails: four unshapen stones, of which the highest is not more than eighteen inches above the ground, were pointed out to the missionaries on a hill in the island of Oahu, which were regarded as the tutelary divinities of the place; and the natives have some rude tradition respecting a general Deluge, and that a man and woman, the sole survivors of the human race, were preserved on the top of one of their

[1] Lardner's Ancient Geography, p. 366.

high mountains.[1] But still greater religious observances towards stones are found further eastward. At Baitenzong, thirty-six miles from Batavia, prayers are daily made to several misshapen stones planted on their ends in sanctuaries constructed upon little mounds, and both the Malays and the Chinese worship these rude upright masses.[2] Barrow relates that in Cochin China large wooden stakes or pillars are erected in various parts, not only for the purpose of marking the spot where some great calamity may have happened, but also as a propitiation to the evil spirit, by whose influence it was supposed to have been occasioned.[3] The substitution of wood for stone is natural enough in a well wooded country upon a sudden emergency. But still we trace the association of the pillar with the idea of calamity supernaturally inflicted: it is a monument of wrath, and sacred to the avenging power. It is by no means unreasonable to presume, that a remnant of Arkite superstition was the real origin of the custom in question, since the nations of eastern Asia were accustomed to have rock idols in their temples, consisting sometimes of entire rocks, especially if they had naturally a form approaching to that of a pyramid.[4] To call these rocks Lingams, as Asiatic writers sometimes do, would be infinitely absurd. They, indeed, do but

[1] Some say Mownakina in Hawaii. — *Tierman and Bennett's Journal of Voyages in the South Sea*, i. 433.

[2] Ibid. ii. 195. [3] Barrow's Travels, p. 331.

[4] Chinenses et Indi, præter imagines in Pagodis et delubris prægrandes, aliquando etiam integras rupes, præsertim si natura in pyramidalem formam vergebant, in idola formare solebant. — *India Sinensis by Maffeus.*

repeat the gross frivolities which the perverse ingenuity of the Brahmins has invented. But if it be true, that not only a mast, a pole, an obelisk, a tree stripped of its boughs, but even a pyramid and a mountain excite such ideas in the mind of a Hindoo[1], it is plain enough that it must be a forced production, the effect of education; for natural connection there can be none between such various objects and the procreative powers of nature.

The principles of an abstruse philosophy never yet formed the groundwork of any popular religion: it is quite obvious, that such refinements are the result of speculative idleness, anxious to give a philosophical account of popular and obscure superstitions. When the Puranas teach that all animals and plants are the Lingam of the Calava Rupi deity, of him who has the countenance of Kala or Time[2], or, in other words, that they too are emblems of production, they show at once that pillars, pyramids, and mountains must owe the marked veneration, by which they are distinguished, to some other cause besides the fancies of the Brahmins. In the great Pagoda of Madura, the image of the deity Chocalingam is a block of black granite, four feet high, of a conical shape, with the outlines of a human face on the top, and a golden arch over it.[3] Now it would be quite ridiculous to call this a Lingam in any other sense, than that in which every animal and plant is de-

[1] Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p. 399. [2] Ibid. p. 102.

[3] Mr. Blackader in Archæolog. x. 452. The Pagoda itself is 63 ft. high, of which 43 are in the form of a pyramid.

clared to be so by the Puranas. It is an emblem of production, and a well-chosen emblem too, if it be understood to represent the divinity of the mountain; the man who from the mountain top saw the reproduction of animated nature, at the time when his attention was directed to the heavenly bow, — the token of the covenant which God established between himself and all flesh — the token that the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy the earth.[1] The design of another monument on the top of a conical hill, near the northern extremity of Fort Gualior, was probably something similar. It consists of two high pillars, joined by an arch. The date of its workmanship is said to be ancient; but the purpose for which it was erected unknown.[2] The Calavarupi deity could be no other than Siva: for he had the countenance of Kala, which is one of the titles of Siva, and therefore identifies him with Saturn, whose Greek name had the same signification.[3] Saturn is acknowledged by many authorities to be Noah, and Siva is he who descended on earth after a great deluge, from which but few escaped, to restore arts and science to the race of men; in which character he is called Vagiswara (the Lord of Speech) or Vagias, which is commonly pronounced Bagis, corrupted by the western nations into Bacchus.[4] He is also

[1] Genesis, ix. 15.

[2] Hunter's Narrative of a Journey from Agra.—*Asiat. Res.* vi. 18.

[3] Orpheus, in his hymn addressed to Musæus, first invokes Rea and Cronus, and then three lines afterwards Chronus, χρονον ἀενναον. — *Hymns*, 26.

[4] Asiat. Res. vol. ii. At Ballysteeny in Ireland there was a stone about eight feet high, tapering from the bottom to the top, which,

called Sirodeva, *i. e.* the god Osiris; and his haunts were in the mountains of the Moon; and he held a trident like Neptune; and he rode upon a white bull; and he is frequently attended by the crescent, and the rainbow; and he has three eyes to denote the threefold state of the earth which he witnessed; and the image of his wife was plunged into the waters at the conclusion of the festival of Durgotsava.[1] He has a very characteristic temple on the summit of a great rock in the middle of the Ganges. It is conical, and terminates in a trident.[2] The prongs of the trident are obelisks, or pillars in miniature—a form which the Arkites of India very naturally chose for a sacred symbol, because the mountains of Himalaya, which were their Ararat, at the point where the Ganges leaves them, terminate in sharp-pointed peaks, insulated at the top.[3] It has been already observed, that Calavarupi means the countenance, or image of Kala. Now since Rupee is a denomination of Indian coin, it is far from unlikely, that the first currency of that country consisted of these sacred symbols; for, according to Plutarch, the most ancient Greek coins were of an obeliscal form [4]; and in excavating an ancient Indian city, Captain Del Rio found in certain cavities cones of stone, with a flint lance,

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Crawfurd says, was consecrated to Osiris, Dionusus, and Bacchus. — *Collect.* vi. 182. He is right; they were all one and the same person; and Ballysteeny is evidently the stone of Baal. Osiris, says Herodotus, is Dionusus in Greek, p. 143.

[1] Moor's Hind. Pan. p. 48.

[2] Tierman's and Bennett's Journal, ii. 318.

[3] Finlayson's Journal in Christian Examiner.

[4] Maurice's Ind. Ant. ii. 359.

and the figure of a heart.[1] The size of these articles is not mentioned; but if they were small enough, any one of them may have been used as an image of Kala for the same purpose as the Grecian obelisks. But be this as it may, it is certain that obelisks and pillars were monuments appropriated to Siva, and are often to be seen in the middle of tanks and pools.[2] Linsater supposed that the object of thus insulating them was to prevent any unclean thing from coming near them[3]; which would certainly be a great argument of the veneration with which they are regarded; but we can account for it much more satisfactorily, when they are considered as representatives of the Diluvian Mount. Hence Siva has a high black pillar in the temple of Delhi[4], and another at Cuttab Minar; and from the top of another, he is delineated issuing forth as from the proper seat of his divinity[5]: and yet this is called a Lingam. I do not deny what indeed all testimony affirms, that symbols are to be seen in some of the temples, the object of which cannot be mistaken. But although their antiquity is undoubtedly great, yet, comparatively, they are quite of recent date, mere modern devices, resulting from a misinterpretation of the monuments of an older age. But if the corruption of the human heart had not signally conspired with a gross ingenuity to deform the

[1] Journal of Science, New Ser. v. 140.

[2] Asiat. Res. iii. 214. The pillar of On in Egypt is in the middle of a lake, and Cellarius says, Antiquissima fuit; ut origo etiam ad fabulas referatur. — *Geog.* tom. ii. p. 42.

[3] Linsater's Voyage to India, p. 81.

[4] Heber's Letters. ii. 291. [5] Moor's Hind. Panth. pl. 21.

subject, the exterior appearance of some of those relics might have revealed the extravagance and absurdity of the mistake. The variety of their form might have precluded it; at Juganaut, for instance, the pillar of black stone, which is fifty cubits in height, is of an octagonal figure.[1] At Chunar, there is a large slab of black marble, on which the Hindoos believe that the Almighty is seated personally, though invisibly, for nine hours every day, and for the other three he removes to Benares.[2] Now at Benares there is a pillar forty feet in height, which even the Hindoos do not degrade with the usual designation; for they call it Siva's walking staff, and hold it in high veneration: they have a tradition, that it is gradually sinking into the ground; that it has been twice its present height, and that when its summit shall be levelled with the earth, the religion of Brahma is to have an end.[3] Which tradition I interpret thus: — the religion of Brahma, which was in its origin essentially Arkite, before it was overloaded with the refinements and follies of the Brahmins will have an end, when that monument shall disappear, which is supposed to be coeval with the commencement of the postdiluvian æra, and represents the rock on which Siva reposed after the Deluge. In this respect, it coincides with the club of Hercules, on which he often leans or rests[4], and

[1] Ayeen Akberry, ii. 25. [2] Heber's Letters, i. 408.
[3] Ibid. i. 430.
[4] Hercules, dum stat, eidem clavæ nititur, vel fessus laborum magnitudine super eam quiescit. — *Museum Florentinum*, tom. i. pp. 80, 81. tab. 36. 38.

the ancient artists seem to have taken pains to show, that it symbolised something more than a club, by the vast dimensions they have given it, and in one gem more particularly four genii are toiling to lift up the mighty cone.

CHAP. XXIII.

OTHER SACRED STONES. — TERMINI. — PESSINUNTIAN. — HERTHA. — IN INDIA, JAPAN, EMESA, BABYLONIA, TAURIC CHERSONESE. — VENUS. — CAABA. — SOLOMON'S PILLARS. — EXPLANATION OF THE TYRIAN HERCULES AND ASTARTE. — JOSHUA'S PILLARS. — OTHER INSTANCES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT OF SACRED STONES.

But monuments of the same sort as those ascribed to Siva, were actually worshipped at Rome under a name which at least has a very probable affinity with one of his titles. Terminus, whose image was nothing but an upright stone, was one of the most ancient gods of that city, and his worship is said to have been introduced there after the expulsion of Saturn, but before the reign of Jupiter; for an old poet tells us, that he refused to surrender, even to Jove himself, the place which he occupied upon the Tarpeian Rock[1], where Numa consecrated to him a sanctuary; that is to say, the Arkites would not consent entirely to abandon the rites to which they were attached, but compromised with the worshippers of images, by offering sacrifices to an unwrought stone. Hence the stones which were set up to mark the boundaries of lands were called Termini; and certainly there could not be a more suitable emblem of social justice in the decision of

[1] Jovi ipsi regi noluit concedere. —*Apud Aul. Gell.* lib. xii. c. 6. Livy makes Camillus say, that it was a very great joy to their ancestors, that Terminus would not suffer himself to be removed, lib. v. c. 54.

disputed claims, if his eastern etymology be allowed agreeably to his eastern origin. Yama, or Ham, who usurped from his father the titles of Pitripeti, Lord of the Patriarchs, and Mritu or Death (for he, who witnessed, and was supposed by some to have caused, the destruction of the world, was on that account called Death, or the destroying power), also, took to himself the oblations of water, which were offered in honour of deceased ancestors[1], and the name of Dherma Rajah, or the Lord of Justice. To this title Terminus is an exact equivalent, being Dherma Menu, the Menu or God of Justice. One form of monument, consecrated to this deity for the purpose of marking boundaries, was the Kistvaen, which, like all other sacred places, was sometimes used for interment: but then it had an arched roof over it, which would give it the appearance of an inverted Bari. There was another sacred stone at Rome brought from Pessinus at the confluence of the Gallus and Sangarius, and always taken in a waggon and inclosed in silver[2], on the 26th of March, to the confluence of the Tyber and the Almo, and there dipped into the stream with great solemnity. But this was the image of the mother of the gods, which Barth supposes to be the earth[3]: and in that case the ceremony of immersion was very significant, and suitable

[1] The 14th day of the dark half of the month Aswini is sacred to Yama. Bathing and libations are auspicious on that day. — *Moor's Hind. Pan.* p. 303. and 305.

[2] Lapis nigellus evehendus essedo
Muliebris oris clausus argento sedet.
Prudent. Persistephanon, x. 155.

[3] Hertha, p. 148.

to Arkite people. The image of Hertha, or Herthus (in Hebrew Erts, in German Erde, in English Earth), who was held in the highest veneration by some of the northern tribes of Germany, and among the rest by our ancestors the Angles, was probably something of the same sort. Its unattractive form was indeed guarded from the public gaze with such jealous care, that the poor slaves, who had the ill luck to officiate in her mysteries, were immediately drowned, that they might not reveal the secret. But the ceremonies were much the same: she was carried from her sanctuary in a sacred island on a waggon drawn by cows, and bathed in a lake.[1] The island is supposed to have been Heligoland, or Holy Island, which was also called Fosetiland, or Fostan[2]; that is, the land of Fo, or Buddha, who has left other traces of himself among the Germans in the grove of Baduhenna[3], which is supposed to be the modern Holt Pade in Sevenwolden, one of three districts in Friesland. It is true that the immersion of Hertha bears a nearer resemblance to the Brahminical immersion of Durga in the Ganges, than to any rite now belonging to Buddha; but since the Buddhists are a far more ancient sect, though their doctrine is not much less corrupted by a false philosophy, if there be any thing in their creed sufficient to account for the religious veneration of

[1] Tacitus de Mor. German. c. 40.

[2] Barth says, that Foseti was called Fostan; but that is surely a mistake: Fostan is, like Hindostan, the name of the country, not of the person.

[3] Tacit. Annal. iv. 73. Henn soll in Keltischen alt heissen Cena, Hena das Weib. — *Barth's Hertha*, p. 42.

stones, especially when surrounded by water[1], it will be fair to infer that the practice was derived from them, although it has since become obsolete; perhaps because it was adopted by the other sect, whom they hated for their persecutions and usurpation. Now they imagine, that in the middle of the world there lies a stone called Maha Meru Pargwetti[2], upon the top of which Sakre, that is, the God and King, has his abode.[3] This central pillar is encircled by seven chains of hills, between which are seven rivers, or seas, called Sida, and the depth of the rivers decreases as they recede from the Mount.[4] This is a very apt representation of the decreasing depth of the Deluge, but on any other hypothesis wholly paradoxical. Sakre, or Sekkraia, who is Buddha, sits like Siva four months in the year on a prodigious stone, which is elastic under his feet, being depressed when he stands upon it, and rising again when he descends from it.[5] The Diluvian Mount was supposed to rise from the waters when Noah descended from it. There are two other local deities of the Buddhists, whom it may be worth while to mention:—1. Wismekarma, who although the god of Waykoote, which is one of the peaks of the Himalaya, yet governs the destinies of Ceylon, and was the former of the rock

[1] Hence, a pillar was dedicated to Neptune on the Cyanean Rocks in the Euxine, with heads of Apis winding round it. — *Pertusier, Piturésque Premenades.* And hence Volney thinks, that Serapis was worshipped; Serapi signifying a column for measurement; the Nilometer being a shaft of marble in the middle of the water, i. 321.

[2] Pargwetti in Pali means a stone. [3] As. Res. vii. 407.

[4] Ibid. i. 176. Upham's Hist. of Budhism. p. 77.

[5] Upham's Hist. of Budhism, pp. 35. and 58.

temples[1]; and 2. Kandi-kumara, whose residence is on the rock called Maha Meru, situate between the bottom of the sea and the Asura Loka below the abyss.[2] Upon his festival, which lasts fifteen days, a palanquin, richly adorned and hung with cloth of gold, is carried in procession under a tilted awning, accompanied by a crowd with drums, and colours, and lighted torches, to a shallow river about a mile from the temple: it contains a gold sword, but what more it contains cannot be known; which is very remarkable, and forcibly reminds us of Hertha. It is then placed in the water, and one of the attendants strikes the water with the sword. Is not this typical of the victory of the Arkite deity over the flood? The moment the palanquin, or tilted awning, is placed in the river, numbers rush into it with their clothes on to bathe, and rich offerings are presented for the recovery of health, or for the prevention of sickness and death.[3] No custom could be more appropriate for a commemoration of the æra, when health and life were restored to the reviving earth by the receding of the sanatory waters of the Deluge; but the Buddhists having substituted in their imaginations a central pillar for the Diluvian Mount attributed to it different forms, according to the various fashion of ordinary pillars. Thus in Ceylon Meru was supposed to have the shape of an immense round column[4]; but in Thibet, it was said to be square. Bishop Heber was of opinion,

[1] Upham's Hist. of Budhism, p. 41.
[2] Ibid. p. 52.
[3] Ibid. p. 53.
[4] As. Res. vii. 321.

that, notwithstanding the difference of form and style of ornament, the Buddhist Chattah, which was of an umbrella or dome shape, may be identified with the Brahminical Lingam, and was originally intended to represent the same popular object of that almost universal idolatry.[1] I am quite of the same opinion, but in a different sense.[2] He gives the same interpretation to certain pillars in the great cavern of Elephanta. But there is good reason to believe, that it was originally a temple of Buddha; for it has the genuine Arkite character. A double-pointed hill rises to a considerable height out of a small island; and at first probably contained only an inconsiderable sanctuary, with a sacred pillar in it as a shrine. But the same theological animosity, which destroyed so many statues in this country at the Reformation, has in India produced them abundantly; and the Brahmins endeavoured to obliterate the older form of worship by enlarging the space, and filling it with images of their own. Hence that appearance of a recent date, which Heber had the sagacity to perceive; and hence we obtain an explanation of the otherwise unaccountable fact, that the Hindoos of the present day pay no reverence to this celebrated temple, and no pilgrims come to it from a distance, and no Brahmins are stationed at the shrine.[3] Buddhism was too strong for them in this quarter,

[1] Heber's Letters, iii. 93.

[2] The Linga, or image of Shiva, is a smooth black stone, almost in the form of a sugar loaf. — *Ward's Introduction to the History of the Hindoos.*

[3] Heber's Journal, iii. 82.

and, accordingly, in the neighbouring island of Salsette, the great cavern of Kennery is still a temple of Budh, in which a mass of rock is left solid, carved externally like a dome.[1] An old traveller describes it as a round cupola, thirty spans high and sixteen paces round, and believes it served for some use, which we, being ignorant of the ancient customs of those times, cannot guess at.[2] Of that use, however, there can be little doubt, if we consider the cisterns with which it is associated, and the tradition that the island was formerly thrown up from the bottom of the sea.

It appears therefore most likely, that the large polished cylindrical stone standing on its base in the centre of the sacellum at Elephanta was indeed an emblem of Siva[3], but of the Arkite Siva, of that Mahadeva or great deity whom all the Arkites acknowledged. And therefore when the people of the Ganow hills are sworn, the oath is taken upon a stone which they first salute; then, with their hands joined and uplifted, and their eyes stedfastly fixed to the hills, they call on Mahadeva to witness what they say. They then again touch the stone with all the appearance of the utmost fear, and bow their heads to it, calling on Mahadeva.[4] A striking coincidence with this Indian usage, in a part of the world exceedingly remote from India, is related by Pennant in his Western Tour. Some round black stones, he says, were preserved in the Cathedral of Oransay, upon which the people made

[1] Heber's Journal, iii. 93. [2] Gemelli Careri, b. i. c. 4.
[3] Maurice's Indian Antiquities, ii. 158. [4] Asiat. Res. iii. 38.

oaths, that were regarded as more binding than any others.[1] But there is still stronger evidence, that the mystery in question cannot be resolved into any organic shape or similitude, and relates to a period long antecedent to the existence of the Brahmins and their theories. At Chinsurah the principal object of veneration is a large unshapen block of black stone, which thousands come from the remotest provinces of the peninsula to worship; and there is a tradition of a dream, that the proprietor would find it in the bed of the river[2] — a truly Arkite dream; and in this case the venerated stone cannot be taken for anything but the rock of inundation. In the same way both the Terminus, or Dherm-Menu's stone, and the Pessinuntian stone, had the roughness of exterior proper to represent a natural crag.[3] The latter indeed was so divine, that it was reported to have fallen from heaven, and perhaps it was in fact an Aerolithe. But the rites in which it was used, and the title which it bore, combine to prove, that, in the estimation of its worshippers, it was given to them as a memento, to remind them of that more important rock, which was first bathed in the waters of the Deluge, and then became the birth-place of the postdiluvian world. The people of Emesa worshipped a huge

[1] Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Antiquities of Ireland.

[2] Tierman and Bennett's Journal, &c. ii. 347.

[3] Lapidem colunt informem atque rudem, cui nomen est Terminus: hic est quem pro Jove Saturnus dicitur devorasse. — Poeta Capitoli immobile saxum vocat.—*Lactant. Divin. Instit.* lib. i. c. 20. Magna mater accita ex Phrygio Pessinunte — lapis non magnus coloris furvi atque atri, angellis prominentibus inæqualis. — *Arnob. Adversus Gentes*, lib. vii. prope finem.

stone, concerning which they had the same tradition.' But it was no Aerolithe, for it was conical; and Sabianism having triumphed in that country it was called the image of the sun.[1] But for that purpose it was singularly ill adapted, being, like almost all the sacred stones in Asia, of a black colour. To the instances of this fact already enumerated it may be sufficient to add two more from the opposite extremities of that quarter of the globe. At Rockingo, in Japan, a smooth black stone, called Susunotsi, or the famous stone of Susu, is kept upon a shelf of bamboos in the middle of a Fatzman temple. And in order to show with what sort of sacred rites it must be connected, let it be observed, that in the same country there is a sacred mountain[2] with 3000 temples on it near the lake Oitz. But the temple belonged to the god of war; and it is therefore remarkable, that at the other extremity of Asia there was also a sacred black stone in the temple of Mars, to which the Amazons addressed their prayers.[3] Now black is the last colour in the world that any one would select for an image of the sun; but on the other hypothesis nothing could be more natural: for the particular mountain in Armenia, on which the tradition of the country says that Noah's Ark rested, is an inaccessible rock of prodigious height, of a blackish colour, and with-

[1] Heliogabalus, who was its priest, brought it to Rome. — *Herodian. Hist.* lib. v.

[2] Jeson, or Jieasan, *i. e.* Fairhill. — *Kæmpfer's Hist. of Japan*, ii. 490. and 601.

[3] Apollonius Rhodius. Roberts's Antiq. of Wales, p. 28.

out any verdure.[1] Yet the summit being covered with snow it might be expected, that a white colour would sometimes be chosen; and accordingly it is said, that the oldest image of Venus was not unlike a white pyramid.[2] There is a story concerning Semiramis, who is quite a mythological personage, which singularly connects the Armenian mountain with sacred pillars, towers, and pyramids. She is said to have conveyed a stone from thence 135 feet long, and 25 in diameter, and set it up in Babylonia, which was the site of the pyramidal Tower of Babel.[3] There can be little doubt, that so far she is a representative of the Arkites; and in corroboration of this we may observe, that on finding at Chaon a very lofty rock, whether insulated by nature or by preceding Arkites it matters not, she planted a paradise all around it, as if to show that it was the central mount; and, lastly, Ninus, the partner of her bed, is said to have slighted the sacred fire and the Magi, but he ate and drank, and in other respects showed his regard for the sacred rocks.[4] But even in India the real origin of the worship of stones is sufficiently intelligible in a legend of the Hindoos, notwithstanding some obscurities from twisting the truth to suit their mythology. In Shree Bhagavutu it is said that Shuree or Sree, that is, Saturn, commenced his reign by proposing to Brumha to come under his in-

[1] Account of Northern Asia, ii. 690.

[2] Maximus Tyrius. Vallancey's Vindication, p. 214.

[2] Παράδοξον θέαμα τοῖς παριοῦσιν. — *Diod. Sic.* lib. ii. p. 100.

[3] Κατά πετρῶν ὠθεῖ, says Phœnix, the Colophonian Poet. — *Athenæus*, lib. xi. 652.

fluence for twelve years. Brumha referred him to Vishnoo, who assumed the form of a mountain, Gundukee. Saturn entered the mountain in the form of a worm, and afflicted it for twelve years. When Vishnoo resumed his proper shape, he commanded that the stones of the mountain should be worshipped as representatives of himself.[1] Here one definite period being substituted for another, the twelve months of the Deluge have been changed into twelve years; and from the current belief in Armenia, that the wood of the Ark had so much become stone that it was no longer distinguishable from the rock, the vessel and the mountain are confounded together. When these errors are corrected, the story runs straight enough. Saturn, that is, Noah, began his reign as an idolised king at the æra of the Deluge, and he entered the huge fabric of the Ark, and was inclosed in that dark abode for twelve months. During that time the power of Vishnoo the Preserver was suspended. When his influence was resumed by the restoration of the earth to its former state, stones, as representatives of the mountain peak, became objects of veneration. The Latin Ceres has been already identified with the Hindoo Sree or Sri, as the Genius of the Ark[2]; and now we see another link

[1] Ward's Hindoo Mythology, p. 285.

[2] Virgil supplies some evidence to prove that Ceres was originally Arkite: her most ancient monuments were of that description:

Est urbe egressis tumulus, templumque vetustum
Desertæ Cereris, juxtaque antiqua cupressus,
Religione patrum multos servata per annos. — *Æn.* lib. ii.

Here every thing is referred to a remote antiquity. The temple is ancient; the cypress, sacred on account of its conical growth, is

that binds them both together. The earth is poetically supposed to be tormented by the ploughs and harrows used in its cultivation. It is the very image used by the Psalmist in describing his affliction: "The ploughers ploughed upon my back: they made long their furrows."[1] Noah was the first cultivator of land in the New World; and the first cultivation recorded is a vineyard in the mountains of Armenia. Hence Bacchus, who was also Bromius, or Brumha, and like Osiris was the conqueror of India, was considered in the procession from Athens to Eleusis as the son of Ceres; but in the ordinary mythology he was the grandson of Saturn, bearing therefore the same relation to him as Budha or Phut did to Noah.

It has been observed before, that the veneration properly belonging to Noah was often absorbed by his sons and grandsons; and it will also be recollected, that Ceres is used by Virgil as a designation for the moon, in conjunction with Liber, that is, Bacchus as the sun[2]; but Tacitus informs us that Tiberius restored an ancient dilapidated temple dedicated to Liber, Libera, and Ceres.[3] Either, therefore, these are only several names of one and the same Numen, or if they are to be distinguished,

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ancient; Ceres herself is a few lines afterwards called ancient, and her worship is abandoned, and her tumulus, or barrow, containing probably the sanctuary, which is called a temple, was decidedly Arkite.

[1] Psalm cxxix. 3.

[2] Clarissima mundi lumina — Liber et alma Ceres. — *Virg. Georg.* i. 7. Non indocti apud vos viri Dianam, Cererem, Lunam caput esse unius Dei triviali germanitate pronunciant. — *Arnob. Adv. Gentes*, lib. iii.

[3] Tacit. Annal. ii. 49.

Libera is Proserpine, as Vossius interprets it; but Proserpine was very commonly called Core, or the Virgin, which is in fact the same as Ceres, who was actually called Cure by the Cnidians.[1] Now if Proserpine was deemed a subterraneous lady, who spent half her time under the earth, only because she often retired to an Arkite cell or cavern, we have at once a ready explanation of certain mysterious antiquities described by Dr. Clarke in the Chersonese. Strabo had mentioned the temple of a Virgin there, a certain dæmon, from whom the promontory was named Parthenium.[2] Her image was reported to have fallen from heaven, like the Pessinuntian stone, and to have been carried away by Orestes. Ovid tells us, that in his days the pedestal was remaining[3], not being aware that the sacred image itself was in all probability no more than an apparent pedestal, and that the statue is a mere fiction of poetry. Be this as it may, there are no less than three promontories in that neighbourhood, which, according to our traveller's account, may lay claim to the name of Parthenium. One is near Yourzuf, and called Aioudag, or Holy Mountain; and at the foot of

[1] Hoffmanni Lex. Proserpine was called Brimo. — *Apollon. Scholiast.* lib. iii. But so, too, was Rhea.—*Propert.* lib. ii. El. iii. and *Arnob.* lib. v. And Rhea, being Ops, was the mother of Ceres. Thus the relation of mother and daughter is used so interchangeably, that it is evident no objection can arise from that relationship. Brimo is called in the Argonautics of Orpheus εὐ δυνάτος, as if she was one of the Cabiri, *i. e* Potentes, or Samothracian gods.

[2] Geog. lib. vii. 446. Ed. Ox.

[3] Fama refert, illic signum cœleste fuisse
Quoque minus dubites, stat basis orba Deâ.
Epist. ex Pont. lib. iii. ep. 2.

it lies a village called Partenah, or Parthenit, from Parthenium. Another stupendous promontory, to which he is disposed to give that name, is called by the Tahtars Aia Burun, which also means the Holy Promontory. The third is that nearest to the city of Chersonesus, and is described as a remarkable black rock, which advances from the cliff into the sea, and is perforated by a lofty natural arch. Above the rock are the remains of an oblong building constructed with considerable masses of stone placed together without cement.[1] In Greece this structure would have been called Cyclopian, and in the British Isles Druidical; that is to say, it was Arkite. It may be objected that the temple, from which Orestes fled with his sister, was sacred to Diana[2]; and so it was, when the ideas entertained by those who founded it became obliterated by degrees, and objects of sense were substituted for the symbols of a great salvation in the popular idolatry. But the title which the lady of the crescent had to the worship of the Tauri, who were the first inhabitants of the Chersonese, may be explained by a custom which time has not even yet been able to obliterate. The vessels of that country have still, according to the observation of

[1] Clarke's Travels, ii. 215.

[2] Pausanias says that Æschylus taught the Greeks the Egyptian doctrine, that Diana was the daughter of Ceres. — *Arcad.* p. 676. She was therefore the same as Core, the virgin, or Proserpine; and since the Hindoo Sri has been identified with Ceres and with Isis, it may not be out of place to mention that the Indian columns are said to belong to a race descended from Curu, who was king of all those regions, and called Anva Indu Chandra Soma, because they were the children of the moon.—*Tod's Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules, Trans. As. Soc.* iii. 139.

Heber, the curvature of a crescent with high prows and poops.[1] She was the image of the Bari; and so far she might with equal propriety be denominated Ceres, or Proserpine, for both of these represented the moon; and the latter approximates to Diana in another way. She was mistress of the obstetric art, and therefore was the same as Juno[2]: but among the ancient Romans Jana and Juno were the same. But there is another mythological lady, to whom, in spite of the common opinion, the Parthenium might have been dedicated most consistently. The ancients, says Gale, styled the moon Juno, Jana, Diana, Venus, &c.[3] A natural arch was one of its most striking features; and the ancient Parsees sometimes represented Venus under the form of an arch.[4] The arch of the rainbow was an Arkite symbol, and for another reason, which will be explained by and bye, perforated rocks were peculiarly sacred. Many proofs might be adduced of her Arkite origin. A medal of Cyprus, her favourite residence, from the ruins of Citium, now Larneca, which perhaps is after all the most ancient name, since Larnax signifies an Ark, exhibits on one side the figure of a ram, with horns not convoluted downwards, but horizontal, with

[1] Morier, too, speaks of those extraordinary classical-looking barks seen in such numbers on the Bosphorus, with a high circular prow and a high circular stern. — *Ayesha*, iii. 31.

[2] Juno is referred to the moon, and comes from יה, the proper name of God, as Iacchus from יה Ja Chus. — *V. Vossius de Idololat.* lib. ii. c. 28. and 60. Macrobius says, that the ancient Romans considered the moon and Juno to be the same. Lunam ac Junonem eandem putantes.

[3] Court of the Gentiles, p. 119.

[4] Gladwin's Translation of the Akteristân.

a simple crescent-like curve; and on the reverse a circle formed by twenty-four beads sustained on a cross — in short, a crux ansata, which I interpret thus: the upright stem is the Diluvian Mount; the horizontal stroke is the water flowing over its summit; and the circle is the Microcosm, which floated above. The period, indeed, appears to be a day, for there are twenty-four hours: but the diurnal is sometimes used for the annual revolution of the globe, and the relation of the hieroglyphic to the ocean is confirmed by the trident, which is associated with it.[1] Upon Mount Libanus there was a place called Arca, or Arkæ, where Venus Architis was greatly honoured by the Arkæi, or Arkites.[2] Architis is a term that has sorely perplexed the commentators, and various corrections have been suggested.[3] But it needed not; for Venus was Arkite, and hence she is denominated Pontia[4], and Epipontia[5], and Pelagia[6], and Anadyomene by various authors; but for the most part the Phœnicians gave her the name of Astarte, or Ashtaroth[7], and, according to the Jewish Rabbins, the figure of a sheep, which corresponds with the impression upon the Cyprian medal. But Sanchoniatho affirms that her effigies was the head of

1 Clarke's Travels, iv. 35. 2 Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. c. 27.
3 Boch. Geog. Sac. lib. iv. c. 36.
4 By Phurnutus and Pausanias.
5 By Hesychius and Phavorinus.
6 By Artemidorus, lib. ii. c. 35.
7 Cicero and Sanchoniatho assert that Astarte was Venus. (*De Nat. Deor.* lib. iii. *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. i.); Augustine, that she was sine dubitatione Juno. — *Locution.* lib. vii. c. 1. Thus again Juno and Venus are combined in one and the same person.

a bull[1], and then we might expect to find her in favour with the Tauri of the Chersonese: but in either case the animal was chosen solely on account of its horns; and accordingly, as we have already seen, there was a city in Bashan, called Ashtaroth Carnim, or the Horned Ashtaroth, because being built between two very high mountains its extremities rose like the horns of a crescent. It was not unnatural to suppose that in this crescent the moon was to be viewed: yet a little consideration might have corrected that error. Ashtaroth is the plural of Ashtar, which is derived from Ashat Tor[2], the White Rock; and hence the Paphian Venus was worshipped under the form of a white cone. Many rocks were objects of idolatry; but the moon could not be multiplied, and would not admit of a plural number.[3]

Some medals of Tiberias have preserved very distinct intimations of Astarte's original character. On one of them she appears standing in a ship, with a spear in one hand and a head in the other. Dr. Clarke calls it the head of Osiris; but the design is evidently the record of a victory; and so we may conclude that it is the head of Typhon or the Flood, vanquished and annihilated by the ship-born genius of the mountain: and therefore in another she is introduced under the name of Hygeia,

[1] Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. p. 38.

[2] עשת, Candidus, צור, Rupes.

[3] Ashtaroth is used in the Bible, both as a plural, and as a singular noun. (*Judg.* ii. 11. 13.) Baal and Ashtaroth — Baalim and Ashtaroth. But it is grammatically, and therefore originally, plural, and only became singular, because she was taken for the moon.

the goddess of recovered health[1], and is seated on a mountain, from the base of which two streams are flowing, and holds in her hand the serpent whom she has conquered, the evil being, who was the author and type of the catastrophe.[2] Adrichomius speaks of a sanctuary constructed for her by Solomon on the top of the Mount of Olives, which has three pointed summits[3], like the Cyprian trident, and therefore was peculiarly adapted for that purpose. That sanctuary is probably a crypt, which Clarke describes as a subterranean pyramid, on the very pinnacle of the mountain. The interior is a cone of immense size, the vertex of which is level with the soil, and exhibits a circular aperture, which is the only entrance visible.[4] The rocky cone, therefore, was equally dedicated to Venus and to Astarte; and a further resemblance may be observed in their etymology; for Venus, according to Selden, is derived from Benoth[5], and Succoth Benoth means the temple of a deity so named. It is not a Roman name, but was borrowed from the Etruscans, who imported it from the East.[6] Now Benoth is a feminine noun in the plural number, like Ashtaroth, and there are two words derived from the same root—Banah, to build,

[1] In the same way and for the same reason, a mass of sandstone perfectly isolated, at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peter's river, 80 feet high, and tapering irregularly from a base of 30 or 40 feet, is considered by the Indians, as "a great medicine." — *The Rambler in North America by Latrobe,* ii. 300.

[2] Vaillant. Numm. Imperat. p. 374.

[3] De Loc. Extra Urb. cxcii. 170.

[4] Clarke's Travels, iv. 356.

[5] De Diis Syriis, Syntag. ii. c. 7.

[6] Voss. de Idol. lib. ii. c. 27. ex Dionysio, Antiq. lib. ii.

in one of which its meaning must be sought. Benoth alone signifies daughters; with an A prefixed it signifies stones: and a temple of stones is a much more probable sense than a temple of daughters, if stones were objects of idolatry, as they certainly were. It is true, that the plural in use is Abenim, with a masculine termination; but Aben is a noun feminine, and therefore the masculine form is an irregularity which can only be accounted for in this way. The revolution in idolatry, which referred the popular veneration of the crescent to the moon as its ultimate object, instead of viewing it only as a type of the crescent-shaped ship, confined the worship of Abenoth to that single object, and it became the name of an individual. Having therefore become, in common parlance, a singular noun, it was necessary for those who wished to express the plural of Aben to have recourse to an anomalous construction, to avoid confusion. The passage of the word from the one form to the other may be traced through Binos[1] and Venos[2], as it is written on a coin of Julia Augusta, the wife of Sept. Severus. For that the letter V was the Latin equivalent for the Greek B, and us for os, is proved by an inscription, in which Victorinus is written ΒΙΚΤΩΡΕΙΝΟΣ.[3] Venus was worshipped by the Arabians, too, under the form either of a pyramid or of a rectangular stone[4], which Selden accuses the Mohammedans of

[1] Βῖνος ὄνομα θεᾶς. — *Suidas.*

[2] Adolphus Occo, Imperat. Roman. Numismata, 366. Selden, De Diis Syriis.

[3] Clarke's Travels, vi. 240. [4] Maximus Tyrius, Serm. p. 38.

still worshipping under the name of Brachthan [1], which seems to import the rock or hill of blessing.[2] There is a black stone in the Caaba, which, it has been already observed, the pilgrims kiss with the utmost devotion: but I suppose they would be puzzled to give any rational account of the custom, not being aware that they are guilty of the most ancient idolatry in the world. Montfauçon says that all the Arabs paid divine honours to a tower, which they called Acara or Alquebila[3]; the first of these meaning a Caer or oracle, and the second a Kebla or temple. But however they might wish to give it more importance by calling it a tower, the temple is no more than a stone; and there are several traditions extant which give some light to this strange custom. One is, that Abraham alighted on it from his camel — Abraham, as in other instances, being put for Noah, and the camel being often called the ship of the desert; another is, that he there threw dust on his head. But why should that be recorded, unless it means his touching dry ground?[4] The Abadyans say that Mahabad, that is, the great Budha, left it at Mecca, and that it was a statue of Saturn.[5] The mode in which this confusion was introduced will be better understood by reverting for a little while to the system of the Hindoos. Their Saturn was called Shuree, the son

[1] De Diis Syriis Syntag. p. 291.

[2] Barach is to bless, and Thana in Arabic is Clivus, or Terra alta. Barachia is a bark, species navigii marini. — *Castelli Lexicon.*

[3] Vol. iv. p. 384.

[4] Bubowski, a Pole, who passed as a Mussulman under the name of Ali Beigh.

[5] Akteristân, by Gladwin.

of Soorya; but the two names are evidently the same: for it has been shown that the parental relation is often an after-thought of polytheism, for the sake of multiplying divinities. And though small differences in the spelling of a name often discriminate real individuals in history, yet it is otherwise in mythology; for there two names, nearly alike, may always be presumed to designate the same object of worship, and the variety is the effect of different dialects, or the corruption of language in an unsettled state. Now Soorya was the sun, and therefore a black stone being oddly enough considered an image of the sun, Shuree was painted black. But another title of Surya was Arca[1]; and the Tibetians gave him the same vehicle as the Egyptians did, a boat[2], — an arrangement which never could have occurred to both those distant nations unless the man of the ark had been translated into the sphere of the sun by popular superstition. Again Sakre or Sekraia, whose abode is on the top of Meru, is obviously the same as the Latin Saturn, to whom rocks and hills were peculiarly sacred[3]; and there can be little doubt that Shookra is only a variety of the same name: but this is the title which the Hindoos give to Venus.[4] Therefore Venus and Saturn were correlative to

[1] Sir W. Jones's Works, xi. 279. A Hymn to Surya. The same author recites several Sanscrit names of a plant (an Asclepias), and among the rest Arca, Arcaperna, Mandara, and any name of the sun, v. 102. Thus the sun derives his titles both from the Ark and from the mountain.

[2] Porph. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. iii. p. 115.

[3] Multa etiam loca hujus dei (Saturni) nomen habent, et præcipue scopuli et colles excelsi. — *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. i. c. 4.

[4] Ward's Mythology of the Hindoos.

the same object of idolatry among the Hindoos, as well as in Arabia. But further it has been shown, that the Arabian worship had a connection with the moon, of which the black pillar was deemed an emblem; by which means Venus and the moon appear to be one and the same. In like manner the Hindoos identify their Shookra or Venus with Soma, the moon [1]; for they are both represented in the same manner, sitting on a water lily and holding a club in their hands. It has been shown that the lotus or water lily was a type of the Ark; wherefore an Indian plant is called in Sanscrit Padmarca, or the Lotus Ark; and it has also been shown that the club was a type of the mountain; and both the Ark and the mountain were titles of the sun. This subject may be further illustrated by two coins from the Heraclean Chersonese, a country in which it has been already seen that Arkite memorials abound; for ancient coins often bear the impression of time-honoured objects: and if some of the coins even of the present day display the trident of an obsolete mythology in Britannia's hands, much more may we expect to find the relics of a former creed stamped upon the coins of a less cultivated age. The first, then, is a coin of Mithridates Eupator; on the reverse of which a stag appears between a crescent, that is, a Bari or ark and a Delta Δ, that is, a pyramid or mountain. The stag marks the intrusion of a more recent fiction among the more ancient symbols: it refers to the fable of Iphigenia, and the substitution of a stag

[1] Ward's Mythology of the Hindoos.

for a virgin. A star, the common hieroglyphic of a deified person, is seated within the crescent, which therefore cannot have been in its primary intention the moon. The second coin bears the head of Mithridates II.; and on the reverse a club — that is, the same Delta with its base much contracted, supporting a lion's skin, and standing between a bow on one side and a trident on the other; indications, according to Dr. Guthrie[1], that Hercules and Neptune were chosen as marked objects of worship. But he would not have given Neptune any partnership in this coin if he had considered that Hercules was equally a maritime divinity, whose shrines were in islands and on the sea-shore, and to whom vows were offered by navigators and thanks for safety.[2] Arrian says that the worship of the Tyrian Hercules was in use before the foundation of Thebes by Cadmus; that is, before the commencement of even the traditional history of Greece, and that he is the same whom the Iberians revered at Tartessus, where two pillars might be seen consecrated to him.[3] He is therefore the same as the Ousous of Sanchoniatho, the discoverer of fire, and inventor of navigation, who consecrated two pillars, which in the next age became objects of worship, and instituted sacrifices

[1] Mrs. Guthrie's Tour through the Taurida or Crimea, edited by Dr. Guthrie, pp. 164. and 358.

[2] In litoribus, insulis, portubus, ac navium stationibus huic deo (Herculi) templa, aræ, statuæ fuerunt erectæ, ad quas mare ingressuri precabantur, et qui ab itinere erant reduces vota in navigatione vel periculo nuncupata solvebant. — *Dr. Morell, in Archæologia*, v. 185.

[3] Arrian's Expedit. Alex. lib. ii. c. 7.

and libations.[1] Hence it was that Solomon, employing Tyrian workmen to build the temple, constructed two lofty pillars on the outside, one being on each side of the entrance.[2] Hutchinson contended that they supported orreries, and that their intention was to inculcate on all who entered the temple or viewed the pillars, that the heavenly bodies so represented were subject to Jehovah and were established by his power[3]; for the name of the one was Jachin, "It shall be established;" and of the other, Booz, or "In strength." That Solomon intended to signify that these objects of Tyrian worship were to be and always had been subservient to the glory of the one true God, it is very reasonable to suppose.

But if their main object was to support a visible representation of the heavens, it is quite incredible that the historian, who has been so minute in describing every other part of the workmanship, should leave this in so much obscurity, that only a random conjecture could hit the mark; and when we read immediately afterwards[4] of the immense reservoir formed, and called a sea, and that it was placed on the backs of twelve oxen, the heads alone, which were Arkite emblems, being shown, it is difficult not to connect the two designs together as bearing upon one common object, the one being the instrument of that memorable catastrophe, which destroyed mankind, and the other

[1] Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Herodotus relates, that he saw two pillars in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, lib. ii. c. 43.

[2] 1 Kings, vii. 21. 2 Chron. iii. 17.

[3] Hutchinson's Works, vol. xi.

[4] 1 Kings, vii. 23.

the type of that firm-set earth, or rather of that central pillar of the earth, as it was commonly considered, the Diluvian Mount, which remained unshaken where it was first established by the strength of the Almighty Creator. Unless the two names be taken thus consecutively to form one sentence, the former bears no convenient sense, and the usual explanation is not satisfactory. The word does not occur any where else in Hebrew: but there are cognate words in other Oriental tongues, which convey evident allusions to the Deluge. In Arabic a verb from the same root signifies to lay waste and to overthrow; and in Chaldee Bar Juchneh is a term employed in a fable, which can have no other foundation: it signifies a bird of such enormous magnitude, that six hundred villages were drowned by the bursting of its egg, and three hundred cedars thrown down.[1] When therefore Hiram, the king of Tyre, is said to have repaired the Hiera of Hercules and Astarte[2], it is very probable that they were like the pillars which he sent to Solomon: they looked the same way, pointed to the same distant origin, and were only divergent branches of the same idolatry. Hence it is that a Tyrian coin[3] bears on one side the head of Hercules with the club behind it, that is to say, with the conical peak of the mountain in the back ground, and on the other a sea horse, with three Phœnician letters[4] composing a word, which in

[1] Castell. Lex. Hept.

[2] Menander the Ephesian. — *Cory's Ancient Fragments*, p. 89.

[3] Archæologia, vol. xiv. Mr. Weston.

[4] Aleph, Nun, Thau. The Chaldee adds an A at the end, אנתא, so does the Syriac.

three of the neighbouring tongues, the Syriac, Arabic, and Chaldee, signifies a woman; that is, the woman styled in Scripture, "the queen of heaven," to whom the Jews poured out drink offerings[1], and Ashtoreth, to whom Solomon in his dotage paid an idolatrous worship.[2] If Hercules had been a distinct divinity, in whom the sun was worshipped by the Phœnicians, it is incredible that no notice should have been taken of him by the imitators of Phœnician idolatry, and that Ashtoreth should have been the only "abomination of the Zidonians"[3] introduced: indeed, the fact of an exclusive worship being paid by any nation to the moon is a broad proof that it did not originate in physical considerations. The magnitude and power of the sun is much more likely to impress an ignorant man with awe, and tempt him to worship the creature instead of the Creator; and yet the worship of the inferior luminary was the only abomination, which Solomon's connection with Hiram inflicted upon Israel. I do not say that there were not Sabians in Israel, who worshipped the whole host of heaven[4]; but when the moon alone was selected for that honour, they who made the selection must have been, not Sabians, but Arkites. Before the battle of Arbela it was proposed to Alexander to surprise the Persians by a night attack, and when he preferred waiting for the day, his army grumbled, and were only appeased by the Egyptian priests who attended him, and who

[1] Jerem. xliv. 17.
[2] 1 Kings, xi. 5.
[3] 2 Kings, xxiii. 13.
[4] Ibid. xxi. 3. and xxiii. 5.

declared, that an eclipse of the moon, which then occurred, was a favourable omen; for the moon was the deity of the enemy, and the sun was theirs: upon which they were content to wait for the sun. Yet the common opinion is, that the Persians were worshippers of the sun. Herodotus affirms that they were Sabians, and that the whole circle of heaven was their god. Doubtless both forms of idolatry prevailed among them to a considerable extent; but that neither of them was the original and national form[1], we may gather from the historian's own account; for they lighted no sacred fire; they builded neither temples, nor altars; but they paid a peculiar reverence to rivers, and to water in general; and they ascended to the tops of the highest mountains to offer sacrifice; and the plant upon which they were most anxious to lay the victim, was a trefoil plant; doubtless, because, like the trident, its threefold leaf brought to mind the Ark resting between the horns of the mountain.[2] Hence, too, arose the honours paid to the Irish shamrock: and though the Persians had not statues, yet they worshipped Venus Urania, and called her Mithras.[3] But since Venus Urania is undoubtedly

[1] That their ancestors were not forgotten even in the latest forms of their religion, may be inferred from this, that the five intercalary days at the end of the year, together with five more, formed a festival dedicated to the deceased: ein Freudenfest den Abgeschiedenen geweiht. — *Ideler. Lehrbuch der Chron.* p. 481. They were called Purdegan, which Von Hammert supposes to be the origin of the Hebrew Purim; though if we had only been acquainted with the Arabic name Furdidschan, we might have wondered how.

[2] Sir R. K. Porter, speaking of the two summits of Ararat, says, "My idea is, that the Ark rested in the space between these heads," i. 183.

[3] Herodotus, lib. i. 131. She is called Mulitta by the Assy-

the Phœnician queen of heaven, here is another instance in which the moon and the sun are confounded; a confusion which could never have occurred, unless they are to be regarded with reference to one common origin, and not as the immediate objects of devotion; for nothing can be more distinct in themselves than the greater light that rules the day, and the lesser light that rules the night. The same confusion may be traced as far as India, where some pillars placed in the centre of tanks, professedly to prevent the approach of any thing unclean, and others continually washed by those who tend them [1], speak plainly of that purification which the earth underwent from the waters of the Deluge. In that country the same rites are observed towards the sun and towards the moon, rites which are very significant, if they are grounded on Arkite principles. In their obeisance to Soorya, who is regarded as the sun, the Hindoos bathe and hold up water in their joined hands, and pour out drink-offerings to him [2], as the Phœnicians did to the queen of heaven; and in the same way the Somanodacas, or children of the moon, are those connected by an equal oblation of water.[3]

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rians, and Alitta by the Arabs. The first syllable evidently does not belong to the root; and Lith both in Chaldee and Arabic signifies a lion, which is a diluvian emblem: and therefore the lion's skin is thrown over the club of Hercules.

[1] Archæologia, ix. 329. x. 451. In September, when the memory of deceased ancestors is commemorated, the image of Doorga is thrown into the river, and the people are taught that bathing is a religious ceremony, by which they become purified from sin.—*Ward's Introduction to the Hist. of the Hindoos.*

[2] Ward's Mythol. of the Hind. p. 90.

[3] Sir W. Jones's Works, vii. 254. and 260.

Both Soma and Soorya are included in the laws of Menu among the eight guardian deities of the world: and that those guardian deities were in truth the Ark-preserved family, is evident enough, both because two of their names, Soma and Yama, are with very little variation the same as Shem and Ham, whose posterity peopled Asia; and because one of the duties of their religion, described by a Brahmin, is the pouring out drink-offerings every day to the eight progenitors of mankind.[1] These eight progenitors were also the earliest gods of the Egyptians; at least that was their number, and Hercules was one of them; for though Herodotus says that he was only the eldest of the twelve who succeeded them, yet that only implies a change of name, when the revolution in their religion, which it indicates, was effected. It cannot be imagined, that the eight were deposed from their supremacy all at once; only their number was enlarged from eight to twelve, as, indeed, the historian himself declares[2]: and therefore the oldest of the twelve was also the oldest of the eight; and his other name was Pan, which signifies a mountain.[3] He was therefore truly an Archæan god, and deserves to be associated, as he always is, with the pillar which has been degraded into a club. On account of his great antiquity some of the

[1] Ward's Introduction. In the first half of the month Aswina there is a day entitled Mahalaya, on which funeral oblations are offered to ancestors. — *As. Res.* vii. 269. The name Mahalaya, which, with the prefix of divinity becomes Himalaya, shows that the ancestors of the mountain were intended.

[2] Ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα ἐγένοντο, lib. ii. c. 44.

[3] Origine du Langage, par M. de Gebelin.

Greeks rightly distinguished between the Olympian Hercules, and the hero Hercules[1], the one being of a much earlier date than the other; but they erred in imagining that the exploits of the latter were heroic, whereas in fact they were merely sacerdotal. Hence the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, which was seated in a very Arkite situation, on an eminence between Ossa and Olympus, was adorned with the exploits of Hercules; who is reported by Lycophron to have wrestled with Jupiter by the steep bank or hill of Saturn[2], which his commentator Tzetzes interprets of Olympia, and to have lifted him up from the ground; that is to say, his priests obtained a temporary superiority there, which they recorded in the sculpture of the temple. He had, doubtless, a prior claim to the title of Olympian, since he was the genius of the mountain, which still vindicates its Arkite character by bearing on its highest ridge an immense tumulus; and it is still considered so sacred by the force of habit, that Christian priests ascend it every year to offer what is called the sacrifice of the Mass upon it. In accordance with this character, the club of Hercules Soter (the Preserver) is represented on a coin of Thasus just like the Hindoo mountain Mandara, that is, like a rough pillar[3]: for the Thasian Hercules was of Phœnician origin, and had a temple at Tyre. Dr. Clarke remarks that the Stelæ, or pillars scattered over the shores of the Ægean Sea, had been a stumbling-block to

[1] Herod. lib. ii. c. 44.

[2] Lycoph. Cassandra. Κρόνου παρ' αἰπὺν ὄχθαν.

[3] Archæologia, xiv. 226. The reverse is a head of Bacchus.

antiquaries, and puzzled literary travellers. They are generally found in the vicinity of tombs, or near to the walls of cities where tombs were situated, being always insulated, and generally without capitals or pedestals.[1] But to conclude that these were sepulchral monuments, is as if some heathen travelling through England should remark that churches, being generally found near cemeteries, must have been sepulchral monuments. When these pillars became the subject of idolatry, they were rigorously prohibited to the Israelites, who were ordered to destroy all the places wherein the heathen nations served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, to overthrow their altars and break their pillars.[2] And it was unlawful to rear up a standing image, or as the margin has it, a pillar[3], or to set up any image of stone in their land, to bow down unto it. Neverthless it is not to be inferred that it was any act or encouragement of idolatry in Solomon, when he set up the two brazen pillars near the porch of the temple; for God's toleration of such pillars depended upon the light in which they were viewed by those who used them; whether they were designed for idolatry, or merely for the purpose of commemoration; for it has been well observed, that "the witness stone was a rude hieroglyphic. Those who lived soon after the flood could never turn their eyes upon Ararat without feeling it to be a lasting memorial of that event. Hence in the spirit of commemoration, which pervaded this early institu-

[1] Travels, v. 353. [2] Deuteron. xii. 2. [3] Levit. xxvi. 1.

tion, when mankind quitted the vicinity of the mountain, they erected on solemn occasions great stones, which were hieroglyphics of the craggy peak, and were also to stand as durable memorials or witnesses."[1] The notion of a witness stone being once established upon this principle, pillars were sometimes set up for the express purpose of bearing witness to any solemn compact, of which several instances occur in the early history of the Jews. When Joshua made a covenant with the people in Shechem, he took a great stone, and set it up there under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, and said: "Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord, which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God."[2] Now that a single common stone should be chosen for such a purpose, and a stone too of no very great magnitude, since it was set up under an oak, would appear quite unaccountable, if it could not be shown that it had a vicarious importance, and was the symbol of something much more venerable and sacred.[3] A more remarkable instance, however, occurs at an earlier

[1] Townsend on Idolatry, p. 47. [2] Joshua, xxiv. 26.

[3] For the same reason Isaiah prophesying of the call of Egypt into the Church of God introduces the pillar stone as a witness: "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord, because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them," xix. 19, 20. Here the oppressed Egyptians are supposed to look at the pillar as a sign of salvation, and a witness of the covenant of God.

period of his command over the children of Israel. When they crossed with dry feet through the river Jordan, it was a very suitable occasion for combining the memory of that miracle with a commemoration of the greater deliverance from the power of the waters granted to their ancestors, the family of Noah; wherefore he ordered each tribe to set up a stone in the channel, which should be visible above the waters, and accordingly those stones remained up to the period when the book of Joshua was written, witnesses of the miracle, and lively emblems of the flood-surrounded Mount.[1] But that was not sufficient: they were, indeed, a monument of the miracle, than which nothing could be more perfect; but being inaccessible, they could not become a place of resort for divine worship, according to their privilege as representatives of Ararat. He therefore ordered the people to take twelve other stones out of the channel of the river, and leave them in the place where they should lodge that night, in order that they might be a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever: and those stones which they took out of Jordan did Joshua pitch in Gilgal. They were probably arranged in the same way as in our Druidical circles; for Gilgal means a circle.[2] It was the same spirit of commemoration, that moved the two tribes and a half, who resided eastward of Jordan, to build an altar by that river. The motive which they owned was this, that they

[1] Joshua, iv. 20.

[2] Maimonides says, the foundation of the commandment on idolatry is not to serve any created thing, no angel, no Gilgal, no star. — *De Idololat.* c. ii. p. 20. Here Gilgal is a Sphere, being circular.

might say: "Behold the pattern of the altar of the Lord, which our fathers made, not for burnt offerings, nor for sacrifices; but it is a witness between us and you."[1] It shall be a witness between us, that the Lord is God; for this altar could not have been after the pattern of the altars for the service of the tabernacle; for "it was a great altar to see to:" but the largest of the others was only three cubits high. It was probably therefore made after the pattern of the first altar, which the god of Israel chose for himself, before those portable altars were constructed, which an erratic mode of life required: "an altar of earth thou shalt make unto me."[2] And if so, it was a Barrow, or Cairn; and being placed upon the bank of the river, it answered the same purpose to those who lived on the east of Jordan, as the pillars at Gilgal to those on the west side: it was a witness and memorial.

But even the smallest of those other altars, the altar of incense, which was only one cubit square, was not without its figures of commemoration; for else why was Aaron commanded to make an atonement upon the horns of that altar with the blood of the sin offering[3], unless the horns represented the horns of the mountain, which was usually regarded as the centre and head of the earth? so that they were in fact types of that earth, which was sanctified by the blood of the atonement in Jesus Christ. There is some reason to believe that these were not the only memorials of God's in-

[1] Joshua, xxii. 28. [2] Exod. xx. 24.
[3] Exodus, xxix. 12. and xxx. 10.

dignation against sin, and mercy towards those who were saved, sanctioned by divine institution. On the shoulder pieces of the Ephod worn by the High Priest two stones were fixed, the shape of which is not described; but they were large enough to have the names of six tribes engraved upon each. That, however, could not have been the only purpose for which they were intended; for those names were also inscribed upon the breastplate: and, accordingly, it is expressly said that they were to be stones of memorial unto the children of Israel.[1] The exact nature of the Ephod is involved in much obscurity: thus much, however, is certain — 1. It is not always the name of a sacerdotal vestment; for on one occasion at least it was made of gold[2]; 2. It was not on that occasion the breastplate of Urim and Thummim, which was the principal ornament of the High Priest's Ephod; for that consisted of precious stones, and being worn only by the High Priest would never have been assumed by any of inferior degree. 3. It was very attractive of idolatry; for when Gideon had taken from the Midianites 1700 shekels of gold, and made thereof an Ephod, and placed it in his city of Ophrah, all Israel went thither a whoring after it, — that is, they were seduced into idolatry, and it became a snare unto Gideon and his house. The seventy translaters, where they have not retained the Hebrew word, have employed a term for Ephod, which signifies the ornament born upon the shoulder.[3]

[1] Exodus, xxviii. 12. [2] Judges, viii. 27.
[3] Exod. xxviii. 4. Ἐπωμίδα.

But in the case of Gideon, since 1700 shekels were employed in the fabrication of it, the weight and the bulk must have been far too great to be worn upon the person, nor is it at all intimated that it ever was used in that way. It is worthy of remark, that Samuel is said to have been girded with an Ephod, Bad or Bar[1]; for both these readings are found in the copies of the Septuagint. It has usually been constrained to take the sense of a linen Ephod, because Bad signifies flax. But the other reading would give a more apposite meaning; for Bar is pure, and the Ephod would be an emblem of purification, both from its white colour and from the reminiscences it might supply of that great purification of the earth, which was effected by the Flood.[2] And with the same view, we may suppose Gideon was directed to build an altar unto the Lord in the room of that which his father had built for Baal, on the top of the rock.[3] There is another remarkable passage, in which the Ephod is introduced, under circumstances which corroborate what has been here advanced. Micah of Mount Ephraim is said to have had a house of gods, which consisted of a graven image, a molten image, an Ephod and Teraphim.[4] Yet this could have been no ordinary idolatry; for no idol is named, and Micah showed his respect for the law of Moses by hiring a Levite to minister to him in holy things at his own house; and when the Danites afterwards carried them away to Laish, or Dan, where they

[1] 1 Samuel, ii. 18.
[2] Parkhurst derives the Greek Baris (Βαρις) from Bar, בר.
[3] Judges, vi. 25, 26. [4] Judges, xvii. 4, 5. and xviii. 14. 24.

continued under the charge of a succession of priests all the time that the House of God was in Shiloh [1], no mark of reprobation is stamped upon the transaction; neither is the continuance or termination of that irregular service noticed any more in the sacred history. But further, where it is said that he had a house of gods, there is an ambiguity in the expression, which has occasioned three of the ancient versions to give it a very different sense. The Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Arabic suppose that the house of Micah was to him the House of God, and that he had set apart a chamber in it to be a chapel, or sanctuary for divine worship. Jerome renders it in the same way [2], and Grotius is of opinion that Micah's priest was not only retained for the service of the true God, but that he was allowed to prophesy the truth to those who consulted him. Hence he concludes that the Teraphim were miniature copies of the various vessels used in the Tabernacle.[3] The same word may bear the same meaning in Hosea, where it is said that the Children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without Teraphim.[4] At all events it is obvious, that the images connected with the Teraphim in both these passages must have been wholly disconnected from idolatry. The worship of graven images was too serious an offence to be passed over so lightly;

[1] Judges, xviii. 30.
[2] Hieron. Epist. ad Marcellam. Op. tom. ii. 613. Comment. in Loc.
[4] Hosea, iii. 4.

and at a subsequent period, when an Arkite symbol was set up in the same place, not for the same purpose, but by the crooked policy of Jeroboam to be an object of worship, it was immediately and frequently denounced as a grievous sin, which was afterwards visited with condign punishment; for the most harmless usages may become vicious by perversion from their original intent, and consequently vicious usages may have been originally innocent, or laudable. Therefore, although Moses declared it to be the will of God, that the Israelites should destroy all the places wherein the nations which they possessed served their gods upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, that they should overthrow their altars and break their pillars [1], yet he himself received the law upon the top of a mountain, and his prophetic blessing upon Zebulun and Issachar was that they should call the people unto the mountain, and there offer the sacrifice of righteousness [2], and when he builded an altar under Sinai he set up twelve pillars near it.[3] It would be difficult to account for his language in that song which he composed immediately before his death, unless he had been accustomed to connect with the idea of a rock some irreproachable notion of sacredness, or at least of respect. It implies, indeed, that rock-worship in a guilty sense was customary among the surrounding nations; for he asks, "where are their gods, their rock in whom they trusted?" [4] and again, "How should one

[1] Deuteron. xii. 2.
[2] Ibid. xxxiii. 19.
[3] Exodus, xxiv. 4.
[4] Deuteron. xxxii. 31. 37.

chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up? For their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges." Thus although he discriminates between the true rock and the false rock, he does not reject the name as a title of honour due to the Lord of Hosts. On the contrary, he introduces it at the beginning of the poem, before any allusion is made to the idolatry of his enemies. "Ascribe ye greatness unto our God. He is the Rock[1]:" and he reproaches the people whom he had led through the wilderness, because they were unmindful of the Rock that begat them, and lightly esteemed the Rock of their salvation.[2]

The struggle between the abuse and the right use of the memorials of the flood, is strongly marked in the history of Jacob. When he fled from his home to avoid the resentment of his brother, he took the stone on which he had slept, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and said: "This stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house[3]:" accordingly it was called Bethel, which signifies the house of God. Now it is extremely difficult to understand how such a thought could have entered into his head, if the pillar is to be viewed merely as a mass of stone, so small that one man could set it up. But view it as a representative of the mountain, on which God had so signally displayed his

[1] Deuteron. xxxii. 3. [2] Deuteron. xxxii. 15. and 18.
[3] Genesis, xxviii. 18. 22.

power and his mercy, and immediately all the difficulty vanishes. It was an appropriate acknowledgment of faith, and tribute of thanksgiving. Then, too, we can better understand why God sanctioned that simple memorial with his express approbation, and appointed it to be the place of his worship; for he said, "I am the God of Bethel where thou anointedst the pillar[1]"; and subsequently He ordered Jacob to dwell at Bethel, and make an altar to Him there.[2] Yet the very name of Bethel has been made subservient to idolatry. For thence arose the fable of Betylus, the stone which Saturn swallowed[3], a fable belonging to the Arkites in the way which has been already explained. How deeply the superstitious veneration of Bætulia had rooted itself in the world, we may judge from the statement of the Fathers of the Church. Arnobius declares, that before his conversion, whenever he beheld a smooth stone besmeared with oil, he addressed it, and flattered it, and prayed for blessings from the senseless block, as if a present power resided within it.[4] Clemens of Alexandria speaks of a worshipper of every smooth stone in a proverbial way to denote one given up to superstition; for Theophrastus has remarked, that pouring oil upon smooth stones in the highways, and kneeling down to adore them, was a strong feature in the character of the superstitious man.[5] The Council of Tours, A. D. 567. thought it necessary to admonish the Christian

[1] Genesis, xxxi. 13.
[2] Ibid. xxxv. 1.
[3] Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10.
[4] Lib. i.
[5] Lowth's Notes on Isaiah p. 338.

venerators of stones and fountains, that they subjected themselves to death by appearing to sacrifice to the Devil.[1] But Bethel was not the only pillar stone erected by Jacob: another was set up in Mizpah, to be a witness of the compact between him and Laban, together with a heap, or cairn of stones, which was sacred for the same reason; and the third was set up near Shechem, in the place where he had received the command to build an altar at Bethel. With respect to Mizpeh, it may be observed, that it was the only place, besides Bethel and Gilgal, where Samuel is said to have judged Israel[2], all of them being places where pillars were erected; and that circumstance may possibly have determined his choice: for he himself considered it a suitable testimony of thanksgiving, to set up the stone which he called Ebenezer in the same neighbourhood.[3] It is true, indeed, that the Mizpeh where this occurred was not the same as Jacob's Mizpah, which was in Mount Gilead, on the other side of the river Jordan. But the reason of its having the same appellation was doubtless the same. It will be recollected that the heap and the pillar raised by him and Laban, were called Galeed; that is, the circular witness, and Mizpah; for he said: "The Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another."[4] Now it may naturally be inquired, how it comes to pass that the word Mizpah carries with it so much meaning: it signifies a look-out place, an

[1] Baluz, tom. vi. 1234.
[2] 1 Samuel, vii. 16.
[3] 1 Samuel, vii. 12.
[4] Genesis, xxxi. 49.

eminence so lofty, that any one stationed there would command an extensive prospect, and might watch the proceedings of two persons very distant from each other. But the root from which it is derived gives a peculiar appropriateness to the use of the word, and marks the real prototype of that small memorial. Mizpeh, or Mitspeh, (for it matters not in which way it is written) is a participle from the verb Tsafa, to overflow. When therefore we find that in Arabic Safa means a great stone, and a mountain, and that it is actually the name of a hill near Mecca, where the pillar stone of the Caaba is still kissed by the pilgrims, it is impossible to avoid the inference, that Mizpeh had some relation to the Diluvian Mountain; and therefore it matters not, whether the place which the prophet chose for the solemnities of judgment was the Mizpeh in Gilead, or that other Mizpeh in the tribe of Benjamin, which was certainly in the time of the Maccabees, and had been long before, a sacred place: "For in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel."[1] Josephus calls it Maspha, in speaking of the place where Samuel assembled the people[2], and the Seventy render Mizpah in Jeremiah by Massepha[3]; which shows plainly enough from what root it is derived. There was yet another place in the Holy Land which seems to have been regarded with reverence on account of its consecrated pillar; for the men of Shechem made Abimelech king by the plain of

[1] 1 Maccab. iii. 46. [2] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. vi. c. 4.
[3] Jeremiah, xl. 6.

the pillar that was in Shechem.[1] Now why should the pillar be mentioned, unless it gave importance to the plain? Or why should that plain be chosen unless some sacredness annexed to the pillar gave it a fitness for such a solemnity? In point of fact we know, that it was a consecrated pillar; the truth of which would be made still more apparent by adopting the reading in the margin: for there instead of "the plain," we find, "by the oak of the pillar;" for Joshua, as we have already seen, set up a pillar stone under the oak by Shechem, to be a witness of the covenant with God. It is very probable, though not recorded, that another pillar had existed there before: for the same spot under the oak by Shechem had been the scene of another memorable transaction, which closely connects it with the history of pillars, and at the same time shows how a usage not only harmless in itself, but even praiseworthy when rightly understood, and guarded from abuse, may nevertheless pass the bounds of moderation, and become guilty by excess. When Jacob received the command to make an altar to God at Bethel, where he not only anointed a pillar, but poured thereon that very significant symbol, a drink-offering, he ordered his household to put away the strange gods that were among them, and to be clean; and they gave him all the strange gods which were in their hand, and their ear-rings, and he hid them under the oak by Shechem.[2] It is not for nothing that this oak is

[1] Judges, ix. 6. [2] Genesis, xxxv. 1, 2. 4.

mentioned. Moses was not a random writer, nor, like a garrulous old woman, fond of roaming into frivolous details, irrelevant to his main design. At this distance of time it may be difficult, and sometimes impossible, to lay hold of the clew that should guide us to the discovery of his hidden meaning; but in his darkest allusions, we may always look for some truth, which was intelligible enough to those for whom he wrote, and may occasionally be cleared up even now, by laying together the disjointed evidence which other circumstances supply. In the mention, therefore, of the oak by Shechem it is implied, either that it received a certain degree of consideration from the things then hidden under it, or else, that it was a spot already had in reverence at the date of that transaction, and therefore suitable to the purpose for which it was selected. In the latter case it is not improbable, that the spot, on which Joshua set up his consecrated pillar stone, had been previously consecrated by a similar memorial in imitation of Bethel, where God commanded Jacob to build him an altar there; since such was the mode in which the Patriarch was wont to commemorate the direct revelations which he received. In the former case, the strange gods must have been something not altogether and unequivocally bad. It is not, indeed, to be supposed that the Patriarch, who had received the promises of God into a faithful heart, and had received so many singular marks of Divine favour, would have tolerated open and gross idolatry in his household. Hence it has usually been admitted that they were the Teraphim which

Rachel stole from her father's house[1], and which Jacob did not object to her retaining; doubtless because they did not necessarily involve their possessors in the guilt of idolatry, although liable to be so abused. Laban called them his gods; but it has been shown, that Laban was an Arkite, and that the Teraphim were Arkite symbols, which he might be disposed to idolise; and therefore it was better for him that they should be taken away: and when Jacob's household incurred the same danger, it was only to be averted in a similar manner, by taking them away and hiding them in the sanctuary, to which they properly belonged. For the same reason, it is fair to conjecture, that the ear-rings were crescents worn by ladies then, much in the same way as crucifixes, the emblems of our religion, are worn by some ladies on their persons now. British customs, too, were not less in unison with those of Phœnicia in ancient times; for the crescent repeatedly occurs upon old British coins, and the Druids used to wear it on their garments, or to carry it in their hands.

Bishop Pococke gives an account of several articles found in Ireland, the use of which was not understood. One of these is a flat piece of gold of a lunular or crescent-like form: many such have

[1] Genesis, xxxi. 13. Of the same nature probably were the sacred articles used in the mysteries of Dionusus before the revolution, which debased them:

> Ἱερὰ δ' ἐκ κίστης πεποναμένα χερσὶν ἐλοῖσαι
> Εὐφάμως κατέθεντο νεοδρέπτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν
> Ὡς ἐδίδασκε, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐθυμάρει Διόνυσος. — *Theocr. Id.* 26.

The altars were new, but the Hiera old.

been occasionally found; one of them, weighing only 1 oz. 6 dwts., was terminated by two flat circular plates, about the size of a half-guinea. If they were for breast-plates, for which however they seem much too small, he thinks the modern gorget may have succeeded to them; but pendant lunulæ made a part of the rich ornaments of the Jewish women, and amulets of a lunular form were customarily hung about boys' necks by the Romans. They were also suspended on their horses' breasts. Ciacconius and Petrus Bellorius have given Icons of those, which appear in the bass-reliefs on Trajan's pillar.[1] In another plate he gives some articles, which he calls lunular fibulæ; but whether fibulæ, or what else, he was utterly at a loss to say. But he seems to acquiesce in Mr. Simon's opinion, that they were used in the religious ceremonies of the Irish Druids or other heathen priests, but not as ornaments. The places where they were found in grounds that were formerly bogs, are considered by him a proof that they were so used; because many of the ancient altars, or Cromlechs, are in valleys near rivulets, as well as on high grounds.[2] It is certain, that all their forms may be recognised in the outlines of ancient ships, some being very flat between the horns, and not at all like the moon, while others have more regular curves.[3]

[1] Archæologia, ii. 37. [2] Ibid. p. 40.

[3] In the drawings from Herculaneum, some ships are represented, of which the part above water bears as nearly as possible the form of a crescent. — *Antiche d'Ercolano, Pitture*, tom. ii. tav. 55. In excavating Resina a bronze was found in the form of a crescent,

Montfauçon gives a bass-relief found at Autun, on which a Druid displays in his right hand a crescent of the size of a moon, when six days old[1], which was just the time when the misletoe was gathered. Of this nature was the Irish Todhan Moran, which Vallancey mistook for a collar, being a crescent, of which each horn was ornamented with circular plates marked with concentric circles[2]; but the real origin of that shape is disclosed by some ancient works of art. In a bass-relief in the gallery of Florence, the ship which carried off Helen is represented having at each horn of its crescent a large boss of many circles ; and in like manner a Bari sculptured on the walls of a temple at Luxore in Egypt[3], and containing an image seated

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with two buttons on the points, and supported by an eagle with the thunderbolt in his talons. The editor calls it Luna falcata, and his observation upon it is—Che voglia dirsi? quantunque ne sembri incerta l'intelligenza, e la spiegazione non facile, è ad ogni modo pregevole assai e curioso. — *De' Bronzi di Ercolano,* tom. i. p. 1. tav. 1. The easiest explanation of it is to suppose it the transverse section of a ship, and the eagle the figure on the prow; for they were usually formed of the heads, not of quadrupeds, but of birds; whence they were called Rostra.

[1] Vol. ii. 276.

[2] Collect. vol. iv. Intr. Dr. Clarke makes a similar mistake, where he describes what he calls a cincture for the ancles or wrist found in a vault at Sienna. It was a serpent curved into an elliptical form, with two heads at the opposite points, and possessing no elasticity; and yet his error constrains him to suppose that this unelastic metal might be expanded to admit the wrist: but both the animal and the double peak show that it was one of those memorials, which the Hebrews included under the name of Teraphim; for the country about it was decidedly Arkite. The environs are covered with tumuli which excite the traveller's wonder, and that in which the vaulted chamber was found was quite a mountain. — *Clarke's Travels,* ii. 71.

[3] Pococke ap. Bryant. Anal. of An. Myth. i. 251.

in a lozenge-shaped shrine [1], has a circle placed on each horn of the crescent. If the British Celts derived their religious feelings and usages from Phœnicia, the passage which we have been considering will sufficiently account for the mysterious superstition with which the oak was regarded by the Druids. For Elah, in Hebrew, signifies an oak [2], and is used for that at Shechem: but the same letters form the title of God himself, and thus the idea of something sacred might pass to the tree. The Seventy render it Terebinthus, which, according to the Manichees, was the name of one who, in the age of the Apostles, took the name of Budda.[3] He may have been encouraged to adopt that title by observing, that the Terebinthus of the Septuagint is denominated by the Chaldee Targumists, Butema [4], which is something intermediate between Budda and Gautema; both being only different names of the same person, who was the Elah or deity of a large portion of Eastern Asia.

[1] The lozenge-shaped shrine consists of two pyramids united by their bases, and standing upon the apex of that which is inverted, ◇. A position in which no one would have thought of placing it, if it had not been a great object to preserve the appearance of a pyramid.

[2] אֵלָה, Quercus. — *Gen.* xxxv. 4. *Josh.* xxiv. 26. *Jud.* ix. 6. אֱלֹהַּ, Deus. — *Deut.* xxxii. 17.

[3] Baur. Das Manachaische Religion-system, p. 462.

[4] בוּטְמָא.

CHAP. XXIV.

TOWERS IN SYRIA, IN MAN, IN IRELAND, IN CENTRAL ASIA. — SANCTUARIES IN ROCKS AND CROMLECHS. — DIMON, ITS MEANING ILLUSTRATED BY COMPARING DAGON, ETC. — OTHER INSTANCES FROM JEREMIAH, ISAIAH, AMOS, AND EZEKIEL.

SINCE then it has been shown that a close resemblance existed between the Celts and the Phœnicians in their consecration of pillars, and crescents, and oaks, to the purposes of religion, we may expect to find a similar correspondence with respect to another variety of the same Arkite monuments, where the pillar is hollow instead of solid; and therefore combines the two great features of the system, and, like the vaulted mound, is a type of the Ark, as well as of the mountain. Thus near the well of Samaria, several round towers stand on the hills on each side of an unknown date[1]; and at Tartoura[2] there is a ruined building on a peninsula, which the Franks call "The Accursed Tower," perhaps, because an idolatrous reverence adhered to it after the establishment of Christianity. I know not that there is much evidence to prove its original appropriation, except its site, and the fact that in the same neighbourhood, small low caves have been ob-

[1] Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, i. 461.

[2] Tartoura is the Dora of Josephus, and the Dor of Joshua, xvii. 11. And since Dor signifies water in several languages, Tartoura may be interpreted, the Tower of the Waters.

served, probably sanctuaries, with benches of stone and cisterns of water near them.[1] But at Hierapolis, in the propylæum of Deucalion's temple, two hollow towers stood in Lucian's time, of which he gives this remarkable account: — they were apparently 300 feet in height, and on the top of one of them a man resided twice a year seven days; which was just the length of the true Deucalion's continuance in the Ark, on the top of Ararat, after he discovered that the waters had abated from off the earth.[2] But for what purpose were they built? It is a question of great importance to our inquiry; and this is the answer — some say to facilitate converse with the gods on account of their height; others, to commemorate the period when men climbed into the highest trees and mountains, to escape from the rising deluge. Thus we have the authority of Lucian for asserting it to be an old and common opinion in Syria, that the round towers were Arkite monuments. And the truth of the opinion is corroborated by other circumstances: for not far off is a lake, in the middle of which stood an altar of stone, which seemed to float upon the water. "To me," says he, "it looks like a great pillar bearing an altar. Many swim there every day to pray; and great assemblies are held, which are called descents into the lake, because then all the Hiera are carried down to the lake for immersion."[3] Towers exactly corresponding with the description of those in Phœnicia, except in

[1] Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, i. 192.
[2] Genesis, viii. 12.
[3] Lucian, De Deâ Syriâ.

point of altitude, are still to be seen in the British Islands; not indeed in England, where the solid pillar was more in favour, and quite excluded the other form, but in the Isle of Man, one of those ecclesiastical towers remains, which are described by an ancient historian as narrow, round, and lofty.[1] It is nearly fifty-five feet high, and has four windows at the top, and remains of joists are visible in the walls: so far its object might be ambiguous; but its situation marks its character. It is placed in the Holm, — a small rocky island, not far from the ancient church of St. Patrick; and, like those in Ireland, the only access to it is several feet above the ground. The island is distinguished by many other Arkite features, besides its name. It contains many tall pillars and mounds, and one in particular, usually considered Druidical, is called Tinwald[2], or the altar hill; and a large cairn is surmounted by three perpendicular stones, and encircled at the base by an arrangement of smaller ones.[3] In Ireland as many as ninety-seven of these towers are said to be still standing[4]; and the object of their construction has been a never-ending theme of controversy. They have sometimes been called Penitential Towers; and it has been contended, on the authority of ancient Irish manuscripts, that they

[1] Turres ecclesiasticæ, quæ more patrio arctæ sunt, et altæ, necnon et rotundæ. — *Giraldus Cambrensis.*

[2] Tin seems to have signified a sacred place for sacrifice, a kind of high altar — the same as Tan in the East. — *Bryant's Anal. of An. Mi*, i. 94.

[3] Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1829.

[4] Of these two mentioned by Mr. Collinson are near cathedrals at Kerry and Downpatrick — two are near the ruins of churches, at Rattoo and Kinnith; two *were* near churches at Cork and at Brigonne, but no longer remain. — *Archæol.* vol. ii.

were used for imprisoning penitents, who were first placed in the uppermost story to do penance for a limited time; after which they were permitted to descend to the next floor, and so on by degrees, till they came to the door, which always faced the entrance of the church: hence they were called Inclusoria, and arcti inclusorii Ergastula.[1] But unfortunately for this theory, there is no evidence to prove that such successive stages ever existed; on the contrary, some of them are perfectly smooth withinside, and almost polished, not exhibiting a vestige of any footing for a floor.[2] Mr. Brereton, therefore, who had seen seven of them, very justly remarks upon the improbability of such lofty towers, some of them being as much as 130 feet in height, being built for the single purpose of having one room only, and that not five feet in diameter, for penitents, especially since the expense of building them must have been immense. For in general the stones must have been brought from a very great distance, and probably the builders too — the workmanship is so good.[3] But it did not occur to him how much greater is the improbability of so much labour and expence being bestowed on a mere belfrey (for he supposes they were only used to summon the worshippers, as in mosques), while the churches themselves, to which they must have been only an appendage, have wholly disap-

[1] Archæologia, i. 305.

[2] In like manner the Asiatic tower, called Goom Buz Ecaoos, near Astrabad, which on the outside has ten salient and recentring angles, has no break in the inside, no floor, no vestige of stairs, and only one window at the top. — *Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 117. and 613.

[3] Archæologia, ii. 82.

peared. For universally the ecclesiastical edifices are of a much more recent date, and their contiguity arises from the places where they are built having been sacred before. But Miss Beaufort has given such good reasons for her opinion, that these towers could not have been intended for belfries, or beacons, or asylums, or hermitages, or sepulchral Stelæ, that it is unnecessary to go over that ground again. Her own solution of the difficulty is not much more tenable; for if the sacred fire was kept in them, why was a low firehouse built by the side of one of them, which is ninety-nine feet high, at Kells, in the county of Meath? And why at Kildare, where one of the loftiest among them stands, was it preserved, not in the tower, but by the Nuns of St. Bridget there? So deeply was this superstition rooted in the affections of the natives, that, although it was suppressed by the Archbishop of Dublin, in 1220, yet afterwards the fire was re-kindled, and continued to burn till the suppression of the Monastery itself, by Henry VIII. The firehouse is described by Holinshed as a vault[1], a form much better adapted to the purpose than that of a tower. Indeed it is difficult to imagine anything more inconvenient and unsuitable than those buildings must have been, so very narrow as some of them were in the interior, and

[1] This vault was called St. Columb's house; but the tower was also called Radhaire, or the house of the Priest, from Rad, a building, and Daire, a priest; and accordingly the vault and the tower were sometimes combined, as at Londonderry; where the latter stands upon an excavated mound, vaulted, and lined with stone. St. Columb was the Arkite saint of Icolmkill, that is, the island of the Cell of Columb: it is also called Iona, and both Columba and Iona signify a dove. — *Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Antiq. of Ir.* p. 128.

the only access to them, in general, full fifteen feet above the ground. But the same tenacity of superstition, which retained the inextinguishable fire through so many centuries of Christianity, shows itself in another instance, where a most primitive practice still maintained plainly points to the true theory of the round towers, and refers it to a date long antecedent to the invention of fire-worship. In the churchyard of Kells, an unwrought pillar is sunk in the soil, which, being laid bare by digging to the depth of eight or nine feet, was found to taper upwards from the bottom.[1] On the top of this stone devotees now kneel to pray, turning their faces towards the tower. If the stone represented originally the Diluvian Mount, it is easy to understand why it was at first selected for a place of prayer, which, on any other hypothesis, is unintelligible. The same conical form which marks the purpose of the pillar seems to have been studiously preserved by those who built the towers, notwithstanding the straightness of the shaft: for the roof is usually finished in a cone, and the same has been observed of similar edifices in the East. A round pillar, 30 feet in diameter, and 120 high at Sari, in Persia, is raised to a point[2]; and in Khorassan, the capital of which is Balk, that is, an oak[3], Frazer mentions a round tower of brick among the ruins of Donaghan, fifteen feet in diameter, and thirty high, which is crowned with a conical dome.[4] That

[1] Ware's Antiquities, and Anthologia Hibernica.
[2] Kerr Porter's Travels, ii. 234.
[3] Drummond's Origines, i. 322.
[4] Travels in Khorasan.

called Goom Buz Ecaoos is also finished with a lofty and pointed cone.[1] It stands on the river Goorgan, and "is said to have been once connected with the Caspian, by a boundary line of forts, styled the Lanut Nooma, or 'The Curse Shower;' since every person was accursed, who presumed to cross into the country of the Toorkmuns."[2] Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than this explanation of such an extraordinary name. On the other hand, nothing could be more natural than to denominate the connection between this Arkite monument, and the nearest sea, 'A Curse Shower;' since the destroying waters showered upon the earth were indeed the curse and punishment of sin. It cannot be thought strange that, at no great distance from the mountains of Elboorz[3], that is, the Baris, such reminiscences should be preserved, especially since much further eastward similar monuments are accompanied by very vivid traditions of that æra. At Oodeenuggur, a city now in ruins near the Hydaspes, opposite to a great mound upon the other bank[4], the traditions of the

[1] Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Ant. of Ir. p. 613.

[2] Burnes's Travels into Bokhara, ii. 117.

[3] Spencer calls it Elberous. The colossal Elberous, says he, 500 toises higher than Mont Blanc, stands forth in solitary grandeur. The summit appeared equally divided in two parallel peaks, which has probably given rise to the tradition so current among the orientals, that Noah's Ark passed between them. — *Trav. in Circass.* ii. 206.

[4] Mounds of a very remarkable structure, called Topes, were seen by the traveller: one of them near Belur at the base of the Lower Himalaya was 50 feet high, and stood on the nook of a range of hills. But he could not gather any tradition regarding it from the numerous population, i. 71. Tope is an expression used for a mound, or barrow, as far west as Peshawar. The Tope of Maunicyaula is a solid structure, 70 feet high on a low artificial mound, and is said to have been built by the gods. — *Elphinstone's Account of Caubul,* i. 132.

people appeared to Lieutenant Burnes to be vague and unsatisfactory, because they referred him to the Deluge, and the time of the prophet Noah. And on the Cabool river, where he observed extensive excavations in a rocky hill, and seven round towers near Jehulabad, the people point out the tomb of Metur Lam, or Lamech, the father of Noah.[1] The Irish have preserved a similar tradition recorded by their historian Nennius, who tells us, that a granddaughter of Noah lived in that country, though, with somewhat of Irish confusion, he dates it before the flood. Yet it sufficiently shows the habit which they had, of looking back to that period. Their round towers they sometimes called Cloghad, which Vallancey will not admit to be derived from Cloc, a stone[2]; but that was because it did not suit his theory, which could find no ground of agreement between a pillar and a tower. But the fact is, that the pillar stones too were called Cloghad, and are now often named Cloghmore, or the Great Stone. Nor is it every great stone that is named Cloghad, but only that sort which has an Arkite form, a cone or pyramid.[3] Moreover they were sacred stones, like that in the churchyard at Kells: for "going to the stone" is still frequently used as an equivalent expression for going to chapel[4],— in

[1] Burnes's Travels in Bokhara, i. 58. and 121. Moreover there is a lofty peak, called Tukte Solimaun, or Soliman's throne, where the people of the country believe the Ark to have rested after the Deluge. — *Elphinstone*, i. 50.

[2] In Iona there were, not many ages back, several rocking stones called Cloch Brath — literally judgment stones — stones of the covenant, Berith stones. — *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 65.

[3] O'Reilly's Dictionary.

[4] Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Ant. of Ir. p. 92.

Highland phrase, going to the Clachans.[1] In point of fact, then, the only difference between the two sorts of Cloghad was this: the pillar simply represented the mountain; the tower was a stenographical representation of the sanctuary, or ark, and the mountain peak combined in one structure. And this explains the reason why the only door of admission is placed at the inconvenient height of fifteen feet or more above the foundation. Those who frequented the Ark as a sanctuary immediately after the Deluge, were under the necessity of climbing the mountain in order to reach it, and therefore, in those grand hieroglyphics of Mount Ararat, the Egyptian pyramids, the same rule was observed, and the entrance into the sanctuary was placed at a great elevation. Hence it is that an ancient gem, representing the victory of Theseus over the Arkite priesthood, exhibits the Minotaur, that is, the Tauric priest, under the form of a man with the head of a bull, lying lifeless in the entrance of his sanctuary, which is on the top of a high rock[2]: and therefore the club which lies by him is not the instrument of victory, for which it has been mistaken, but the property of the vanquished: it is like the club of Hercules, the mountain Mandara; and not at all like the iron weapon, which Apollodorus pretends to describe[3], and which certainly was the weapon in use among the warriors of

[1] The Druidical places of worship were marked out by a circle of stones, called Clachan, which still continues to be the Gaelic term for a place of worship. They were from 20 to 60 feet in diameter. — *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 27.

[2] Gemmæ antiquæ. — *Bern. Picart* on sardonyx.

[3] Apollod. lib. iii. c. 15.

that age: for Areithous in Homer breaks down the opposing ranks with an iron club.[1]

In Scotland there are two of these round towers; one at Abernethy seventy-five feet high, and another at Brechin, the height of which without the roof is eighty-five feet, and the circumference about forty-eight.[2] In Wales their existence is recognised by one of her ancient bards, though whether he refers to Ireland, or to others in his own country, is uncertain. Taliessin says of himself, in a poem called 'Gall from the Bards,' "I am a diviner, and universal chief of the Bards; I know every pillar in the caves of the West; I released Elphin from the stone round tower."[3] Now since Taliessin was no warrior, but a bard, and of the sacerdotal order, the imprisonment, from which he released Elphin, must have been either a penance or a probation; perhaps the same ceremony which he himself underwent, and which he describes in this figurative language: "I was gronyn Arkennis, a grain of the Arkites, which vegetated on a hill. I was received by a hen, *i. e.* a Cromlech, the symbol of the Ark; I remained nine nights an infant in her womb; I have died; I have revived."[4] It has been already shown, and it will appear more fully in the sequel, that the Ark was sometimes viewed in the light, not only of a prison, but of a grave[5];

[1] Iliad. H. 141.
[2] Archæologia, ii. 82.
[3] Taliessin, p. 26. In Sharon Turner's Hist. p. 116.
[4] Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 574.
[5] The stay in the Ark was esteemed a state of death, and of regeneration. The passage to life was through the door of the Ark. Plutarch mentions the return of Osiris from Hades after he had been enclosed for a long season ἐν λαρνάκι. — *Bryant's Anal. of An. Myth.*

and consequently that the reappearance of those who issued from it into the postdiluvian world was considered a new birth. Hence arose the custom of confining probationers nine nights, instead of nine months, in the Arkite sanctuary; and perhaps the Chief of the Bards had the privilege in certain cases of abridging the term of their confinement. That a very lively impression of the Flood as the most memorable catastrophe ever known, lived in his imagination, we may infer from another passage in his poems. Of Hu and his family he says, "On the sea which had no land long did they dwell; of their integrity it was that they did not endure the extremity of distress."[1] Now Hu is the person who was the very root of all his history, and all his traditions, and certainly he could not have used more apposite language, if he intended to describe the fortunes of Noah and his family. It is remarkable that, in the Chinese language, Hu signifies water; at least so says Vallancey.[2] Be this as it may, we may observe, that Taliessin includes in one passage three of the Arkite monuments, which have been discussed — the cavern, the pillar, and the round tower. But on account of the sanctuary alone they seem to have been the objects of his devotion, whether on the larger scale of the cavern, containing in itself the sacred emblem of the mountain, or on a more contracted scale in the interior of a lofty pillar. A singular corroboration of the theory here maintained may be deduced from a building in Persia, which is supposed to contain the

[1] Davies's Celtic Myth. p. 496. [2] Collect. de R. Hyb. iv. 525.

prototypes of the Irish round towers, where the very name having been traditionally preserved bears testimony to the original intention of the builders. The citadel of Tabreez, or Tauris, which is itself a very Arkite name, is called the Ark, and contains a great variety of vaulted apartments and a vast circular tower of great height.[1]

But sometimes the pillar was much curtailed by the Celtic Arkites, or wholly neglected, except in the magnitude of the covering stone, and such monuments are denominated Cromlechs. Cromlech, according to Mr. Owen, is the vulgar name for the Maen Llog, or Stone of the Ark, or Chest: it is the same as Aneurin's Llogell Byd, that is, the Ark of the World, in which the priest of Hu had been enclosed[2]; and its Arkite character is amply confirmed by Vallancey's account of it. "Cromleach," says he, "is a name usually given to two monuments of a distinct nature; one consists of a large flat stone in a horizontal position, supported by others which are upright. They are generally placed on elevated grounds; sometimes on the natural soil; sometimes on the top of cairns, or artificial mounts; sometimes in a circle of upright stones. Another species is the large stone of a rude pyramidal form placed upon three others."[3] It is evident, then, that the two species are of a distinct nature no otherwise than as they have a different form: they belong to the same system of religion, which in various ways was maintained

[1] Stocqueler's Pilgrimage through Khusistan and Persia, i. 158.
[2] Davies's Celt. Mythol. p. 393.
[3] Collectan. de Reb. Hyber. iv. 479.

with so much tenacity by the Celtic nations, and bear witness to the same remote catastrophe. Lech, in that language, signifies a stone; but the meaning of the other half of the word has given occasion to many conjectures. Some derive it from a word which signifies to bow[1], or worship; others from the Hebrew Cherem, which signifies something devoted to Jehovah, and in either of these cases Cromlech will mean a consecrated stone, or sanctuary. But Cherem also signifies desolation, and in that sense too it may well belong to a memorial of the Deluge. But Mr. Beaufort asserts, that Crom in Irish signifies time[2]; and an event recorded in Irish history proves, that it was also the name of a god; for Tihermas is said to have died on the eve of the festival of Samhna, as he was worshipping Crom Cruadh.[3] But he must have been the deity of the stone pillar, as well as of the sanctuary: for in Arran stone pillars are called Crom Dubh, the Black Crom, and Crom Cruach.[4] These circumstances identify him with the Cronus of the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks.

Constantine Manasses affirms that the person

[1] In the Scottish western isles, the pillar stones, of which the ancient name was Cromleach too, according to the statement of Smith in his "History of Corke," are called Bowingstones from the reverence shown to them; and so much of the old adoration still remained, at least when Borlase wrote, that in the Isle of Barray (Bari) there was one stone about seven feet high, round which the natives who approached it took a religious turn according to the custom of the Druids. — *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 157.

[2] Collectan. ii. 286. [3] Vallancey in Collectan. iv. 184.

[4] Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Archit. and Antiq. of Ireland; they are also called Bothel. If this name preceded the introduction of the Bible into the island, it is a singular proof of its connection with Phœnicia.

whom the Assyrians worshipped after his death, under the name of Cronus, or Saturn, was Belus, and a contemporary with Abraham.[1] That some prince of that age may have assumed to himself the honours of his ancestor is not improbable. Cedrenus, however, carries him back as far as Nimrod, the great grandson of Noah, whose usurpations are well known.[2] The Egyptians, with more truth, make him anterior to all their hero gods; and although the old Egyptian chronicle in Syncellus introduces before him Hephæstus and Helius, and three myriads of years, and Manetho adds Agathodæmon to the others, they are plainly to be referred to the antediluvian age. And therefore the Greeks most wisely asserted that he was the first king of men upon this present earth[3]; and Alexander Polyhistor goes so far as to assert that he predicted an extraordinary fall of rain, and ordered the construction of a vessel, in which it was necessary to secure men, beasts, birds, and reptiles, from a general inundation.[4] And let it not be thought at all incredible, that he should be remembered throughout the

[1] Annals, p. 53. Jackson's Chronology, i. 261. Porphyry and Sanchoniatho make Cronus offer up his only son in sacrifice, thus confounding him with Abraham.

[2] Geog. Cedren. Compend. Hist.

[3] Πρώτιστος μὲν ἄναξ ἐκ ἐπιχθονίων Κρόνος ἀνδρῶν.
Frag. Orph. p. 402. *Lact.* i. 13.

In Hymn 5. this Protogonus is described χρυσέοισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πτερύγεσσιν. This must be the figure described by Sir J. Malcolm in the sculptures at Persepolis, rising with two wings out of a circle. In this sense he was ὠογενὴς, and hence eggs were sacred in the mysteries. — *Plut. Symp.* p. 12. And the Deus Lunus ovatus was worshipped in Heliopolis of Syria. — *Maurice's Hist. of Hindost.* i. 63.

[4] Sir W. Jones's Works, iii. 331.

British Isles by this classic name: for Borlase assures us, that in Cornwall there are many places called Tresadarn, the house of Saturn[1]; being called a house in the same sense, in which certain cavities in the Scotch Isles were called Druids' houses, although capable of holding only one person, and constructed of as few and unwrought stones as possible. "There," says he, "were their sacred cells, to which the people were wont to have recourse, for divining, or for deciding controversies, or for prayers.[2] But further, as the Cromlech was thus connected with the pillar stone, so it is also connected with those other Arkite monuments, the pyramid and tower, by an Arabian tradition, which, albeit somewhat obscure, yet scarcely admits of any other interpretation. It is said that Nimrod having failed in his scheme of reaching heaven by means of the pyramid or tower of Babel, resolved to try another mode of carrying his project into effect. He proposed to have himself carried thither in an ark or chest, by four birds; but after wandering some time through the air in vain, he plunged into the earth with so much violence, that the mountain on which he was thrown down was shattered.[3] The Coffre, in this case, was doubtless a sacred cell, of which the fire-worshippers wished to conceal the origin: it was a Kistvaen or Cromlech immersed, as it were, in the summit of an Arkite mound; and it will be recollected that, in

[1] Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 164. [2] Ibid. p. 150.

[3] His carriers were Kerkes; his vehicle was *un coffre*, and he "plongea si rudement en terre, que la montagne où ces oiseaux le jettèrent en fut ébranlé." — *D'Herbelot*, tom. iii. p. 32.

point of fact, there is the appearance of a cell in the Babylonian pyramid. But if such be really the antiquity of the Cromlech, it may reasonably be expected that some allusions to it would be discovered in the Bible, not indeed in the historical books which are occupied with more active details, but in those which deal more directly with the idolatries of the times.

When God declares by his prophet Isaiah [1], that he would be a "sanctuary to him, but for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin (trap, Lowth) and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem," there is none of that opposition between the first and the last of these propositions, in which the prophet delights; there is not even any tolerable connection, or natural association of ideas, unless the sanctuary be understood of those cavities in rocks, or under rocks, to which some resorted under the notion of a religious mystery. To the careless traveller in the dark, to whom the *religio loci* was unknown, these rocky places would afford most insecure footing; and those who resorted to them for safety might be caught there by their enemies as in a trap.

Again, the same prophet says [2]—"It shall come to pass, when it is seen that Moab is weary on the high place, that he shall come to his sanctuary [3] to pray, but he shall not prevail." In this passage, what is the meaning of Moab's weariness? and

[1] Ch. viii. ver. 14. [2] Ch. xvi. ver. 12.
[3] Enter his sanctuary, is Lowth's Version.

why went he up to the high place? The question can only be answered by referring to the preceding chapter, ver. 2., where he is represented as having gone up to Bajith, and to Dibon, the high places to weep. That this passage is corrupt, and that Bajith is not a proper name, all the old translators of it seem to be agreed; and none of them have adopted the method of escaping from the difficulty chosen by our own. The Vulgate intrepidly plunges into the slough, and prefers being unintelligible to quitting the received text.[1] The Septuagint deals more freely with it; their version is to this effect: "Grieve for yourselves; for Debon also, where your altar is, shall perish; thither shall ye go up to weep." The Arabic follows in nearly the same track, but deviates somewhat more from the original: "Lament for them (the Moabites) because it (Moab) has already perished like Dibon." The Latin translator, unable to make any thing of this to suit the sense, explains it by the insertion of a word, and reads it thus, "Like the water of Dibon, where your sanctuary is, thither shall ye go up." He had the less reason for making this alteration, because towards the end of the chapter, where the Hebrew text speaks of the waters of Dimon and the Vulgate of Dibon, the Arabic changes it into the waters of Rimmon. The Syriac adopts an intermediate form, and makes it Ribon, with a quiescent ד[2] prefixed. The Targum of Jonathan has also the initial quiescent D, but as to the rest ad-

[1] Ascendit domus et Dibon ad excelsa in planctum.

[2] Thus Cape Moran is in Hindu Mudan; the letter D having a mixed sound between D and R. — *As. Res.* ix. 227.

heres to Dibon. It is evident, that these two various readings have resulted partly from the resemblance of the Chaldee letters, D, R, and V[1], and partly from the conviction of the translators, that the conjunction vau had no business there. By omitting it they bring out a sense more plain, more apposite, and closer to the Hebrew text than the others: "He hath gone up (or, go ye up, Chal.) to the house of Dibon, to the high places to weep."

The next question is, what was the house of Dibon? In the first place it must have been the sanctuary of a hill, or an idol, called Dibon: it matters not which; for hills often derived their appellations from the deities worshipped on them. Thus Peor was both an idol and a mountain: Nebo was both an idol and a mountain. Perhaps Bel was the name of a mountain also: "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth."[2] It is much more in the style of the prophet to describe the mountains bending under the wrath of God, than to apply the same language to bits of wood or stone. All these are distinct hills, or high places, in the chain of mountains called Abarim, from Abara[3], which, in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic[4], means a ship; they were the mountains of the

[1] ודך. Thus the one has Dedibon, and the other Dribon instead of Vedibon.

[2] Isaiah, xlvi. 1. Thus understood, the whole passage is much more forcible: Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth; their idols were upon the beasts and upon the cattle; they stoop, they bow down together: they could not deliver the burden, but their souls (this is the literal rendering of the original, and the reading in the margin) are gone into captivity.

[3] עברה.

[4] At least the words in Chaldee and Arabic derived from it have the same meaning.

ship. And hence perhaps Bethabara, of which we know no more than that it was east of Jordan, and not far from it, but certainly in the immediate neighbourhood of the Abarim Mountains, may have for its etymology the temple of a ship, rather than that which is usually attributed to it, — the place of a ferry, or passage. In Judges vii. 24. it is called Bethbara. Hence the Greeks[1], and Egyptians, and Irish[2], formed their word Baris, which signified a ship, and the Arabs their Barsa. Now the ship so much venerated (not worshipped) was the Ark of Noah; and therefore we may discern a peculiar propriety in John's choosing Bethabara for baptism, since it reminded those who came to him of the purifying waters of the Deluge, and the wrath of God for sin: for thus Isaiah uses the same event to give confidence to the future Church[3]: "As I have sworn, saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn, that I would not be wroth with thee nor rebuke thee." Perhaps Abaris, the Hyperborean, in whose history some unexplained mythology lies hid, was in fact the representative of a religion principally distinguished by retaining in its rites the memory of the Abara, or Baris, or Ark, and carried by its votaries into the different regions, which he is said to have visited.

[1] See Hesychius, Suidas, and Herodotus in Euterpe. Propertius speaks of the Egyptian queen, who dared oppose her barking Anubis to the Roman Jupiter,

Baridos et contis rostra Liburna sequi.

These Liburna seem to be derived from the Chaldee Burne, בורני triremis.

[2] Vallancey on the Ancient Irish.

[3] Isaiah, xliv. 9.

No explanation at least of the marvellous arrow given him by Helius (that is, El-God), which carried him wherever it went all over the globe, is more satisfactory than that which refers it to the Ark. There was certainly a Scythian nation called Abari[1]; and it is remarkable that Abarites are found near several great chains of mountains, in the neighbourhood of Caucasus, Imaus, and the mountains of India. It must be this same Abaris whom the Scholiast upon Aristophanes mentions under the name of Baris, who came from the north into Greece, and was a servant of Apollo, and consigned to writing certain oracles, which from him were called Barides.[2] If then the mountains of Moab were denominated Abarim because they retained certain religious rites associated with the memory of the Deluge, it is easy to understand why one of the high places, upon which the priests were to howl, was called Medeba[3], the Waters of Grief, and another Nebo, the Fructifier; for the mountain, on which the survivors of the Flood first saw nature reviving, and fruitfulness restored, was long considered the emblem of fecundity among many branches of their descendants: it is probable, therefore, that Dibon also was in some way or other a similar memorial. There was doubtless a city of the same name, mentioned more than once in sacred history, built as usual near the consecrated hill, and upon the waters which came down from it: hills,

[1] Abari, Evagrius, v. 1.; Abares, Callisto; Abarimon, Plin. vii. 2.; Abaritæ, Q. Curt. x. 50.

[2] Scholia in Aristophanis Equites.

[3] Medeba aquæ doloris. — *Walton's Polyglott*, vol. vi.

from which waters flowed, were the fittest types of the Diluvian Mount, and were usually selected for that purpose. On this account perhaps Rosebury in Cleveland was chosen by our Celtic ancestors to represent the mountain, or Rhos[1], upon which the Bari rested. But the subject of our present inquiry is the hill itself, which the priests of Moab ascended to weep there.

Since then Dibon is the name of some Numen worshipped on one of those hills, we may look to the parallel instance of Dagon for its probable meaning. Dagon the idol (Aon[2]), already described, was worshipped at Heliopolis, or On, in Egypt, in the form of a Dagh, or Fish. An and Awan are words used in the Arabic version of the Bible to express time. Now Dagon, says Hesychius, is the Cronus of the Phœnicians, and Cronus aspirated is the same as Chronos, Time. The difference between the two words to the ear is very slight, and their real identity is not mere conjecture. Many things concur to prove it, which have been already mentioned. That Awan or Auan in the sense of time furnishes the true etymology of Oan, or with its Greek termination, the Oannes of Polyhistor, the fish-formed idol seen and described by Berosus, cannot reasonably be doubted. He was worshipped, says Hornius, under the name of Dagon, and of Adandag, — that is, the magnificent Dag[3]:

[1] Rhôs, it may be, signifies in Celtic rather a promontory than a mountain; but Rosebury does project into the Plain of Cleveland, like a promontory. — See *Faber's Origin of Idolatry.*

[2] אָוֶן, Idolum. — *Isaiah*, lxvi. 3.

[3] Histor. Philos. lib. ii. c. 4. Georgius Hornius.

he was worshipped at Bethaven; for this place is called in the Septuagint the House of On, which is contracted from Auen. Now On is the same as El, both signifying the sun[1]; and when Hosea warns the inhabitants of Judæa not to go up to Bethaven, Cyrill interprets it of the temple of the sun; for which reason many have doubted whether Bethaven was not the same as Bethel: and since this was one of the places where the worship of the calf was established, it is not unworthy of notice, that the Egyptians considered their sacred bull Apis the offspring of the sun.[2] But El, according to Damascius, was a title given to Cronus too by the Syrians and Phœnicians[3]; and Verstegan describes him as standing on a fish, and on his coins he is represented with keys, and a ship; and Vallancey recognises him in the two Hiberno-Celtic deities, Crean and Dagh. It is true, indeed, that the Irish Dagh seems to have lost its Phœnician meaning, and to have borrowed from the other part of the compound Dagon the attribute of fire: but this was no unnatural result of the confusion between the restorer of vegetation, and the restorer of the human race, who were soon blended together in one idolatrous worship. The Dagh-daa of the

[1] Ὃν δὲ ἐστιν ὁ Ἥλιος. — *Cyrill. in Comm. ad Hoseam*, iv. 15.

[2] Σελήνης μὲν γὰρ τέκνον, ἔκγονον δὲ Ἡλίου τὸν Ἄπιν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθοπλαστοῦντες ἔλεγον. Ὃν δέ ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς Ἥλιος. Ibid.

[3] Φοινικες καὶ Συροι τὸν Κρονον Ἦλ καὶ Βηλ καὶ Βολαθην ἐπονομάζουσι. — *Apud Phot.* c. 242. Bel may have been formed from El, in the same way as βάλτος from ἅλς, and βέλη from ἕλη. — *Wordsworth's Athens and Attica*, p. 48. And since Bel is, quem Latini Saturnum vocant, Hieron. in Is. xlvi. 1. he therein coincides both with El. and with Dag-on, the fish On.

Irish is evidently the Dacc of the Tibetans[1], and their Dak Po can be no other than the Irish Budth Dearrg; for Po or Pho is known to be the same as Bud, and Bud has the same meaning as Eochad[2], which is another name for Dagh-daa. I am aware that the identity of Dagon and Cronus has been denied by Bochart, who maintains that they were brothers with most palpable inconsistency, since he also says, "There can scarcely be a doubt that Saturn was Noah."[3] But he relies too much upon the evidence of Sanchoniatho, from whom many valuable hints may unquestionably be derived for the illustration of early mythology: but he deserves no credit as an historian, or genealogist; for his statements are full of the most brave confusion of facts and fables. He tells us, however, that Dagon was also called Siton. Perhaps this is only the same word translated by Philo Byblius, who says he was the inventor of corn, and evidently derives his name from Dagan, corn. Still he is the same as Cronus: for who introduced the cultivation of corn into the Postdiluvian World but Noah? But corn was no idol; corn was never worshipped; and if Siton be a Phœnician word, it has nothing to do with Siton, corn. That the same deity was supposed to preside over corn is very probable; for Saturn was the inventor of the scythe

[1] Vallancey, iv. 161. Dacc Tibetanorum nescio quem patrem Bavani fingunt, quo tempore vocabatur Sati. — Dak po etiam habent Tibetani. — *Alphabetum Tibetanum of Georgius.*

[2] Phallus.

[3] Noam esse Saturnum tam multa docent ut vix sit dubitandi locus.

or sickle[1]; and the spirit of idolatry seems to delight in multiplying itself, and exhibiting as many forms of worship as possible; in Moloch, for instance, he was worshipped as the God of War; in Remphan, as the star; in Baal, as the sun; in Dagon, as the Numen of the waters; in Siton, as the Numen of the ship, or ark; for Si means a large ship[2]; and therefore when the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea is represented under the image of breaking Leviathan in pieces[3], and they are said to have been given for meat to the people who dwell in the wilderness, Vallancey contends that the right translation is, "the people of ships[4]," which is certainly much more natural. It is remarkable that the same word should signify a ship and a dry place, and that one of its derivative senses should be a heap of earth or stones[5]; that is, a cairn, which is often to be considered a diluvian memorial. From the feminine form of Si the Latin word Sitis is derived[6]; and in like manner Siton. And it matters little whether you interpret it as meaning the On, or deity, of the ship, or the cairn. He is still the same as the fish-formed On, worshipped by the Philistines. Sidon may perhaps be another instance of On entering into the com-

[1] Chronus, or Time, is evidently the same as Cronus, or Saturn; for even to this day he is represented exactly in the same way, an old man with white hair and a scythe.

[2] Isaiah, xxxiii. 21. [3] Psalms, lxxiv. 13.

[4] Vindication of A. H. of I. p. 49. [5] 2 Kings, xxiii. 17.

[6] So Vallancey says, that Dag-ugith is derived from Goi. "In the Chaldee the word is in the feminine gender, as דג-ונית, navicula piscatoria, from Dag, a fish, and דונית, dugith, navis, scapha. Elias in Tishbi explains דוניא, dugia, to be a great ship, navem magnam." — *Vindicat.* p. 33.

position of towns, that derived their appellation from some particular Numen, which the multiform idolatry of the heathens worshipped; for its most approved etymology is from Said, a fishery[1], over which the Son of Canaan was the On[2], or Dæmon, that presided. Now if we look for a similar origin for Dibon, we shall find that, although in the other Oriental languages it may have fallen into disuse, the original meaning of the first syllable is retained in the Arabic word Adib, abundance of water.[3] That some word of similar signification in Chaldee was known to Jerome may be inferred from his interpretation of Dibon, and his explanation of a passage in the version of the Seventy[4]: "Their false words, which flow like a torrent, shall perish." In fact, Dub in Chaldee is, "To flow," and Dibu "Flowed."[5] It has been observed, that Dibon is afterwards in the same chapter written Dimon. "Let no one," says Jerome, "imagine that this is an error of the manuscript, nor make a mistake in endeavouring to correct one. The same place is written both with a B and an M[6]:" it is both Dibon and Dimon, and even in his time it retained both names. Now Dimon he interprets Silence, evidently from Dum, to be silent; whence our

[1] Sidon ex ubertate piscium. — *Trogus.* [2] Ὁ ὤν, the One.

[3] Adib, multa aqua. — *Castell. Lexicon.*

[4] Dibon, quæ interpretatur fluxus eorum, mendacium instar fluminis — sermo compositus qui fluebat more torrentis. The passage in the Seventy is ἀπολεῖται καὶ Δήϐων, iv. 167.

[5] Psalm lxxviii. 20. In Chaldee Paraphrase, וְרִיבוּ מַיָּא, Vedibu Maja, "and the waters flowed." It is remarkable that Daba in Arabic is a wild bull, taurus sylvaticus, another diluvian emblem.

[6] Hieron. iii. 119.

English word Dumb.[1] But Silence can never be the name given to a town originally: "The busy hum of men" is incompatible with silence: towns are noisy places, as Horace tells his friend.[2] The town of Dibon therefore certainly borrowed its other name from the neighbouring high place, *i. e.* from the sanctuary on the top of the hill.

It is in ironical allusion to the same circumstances that the prophet Jeremiah exclaims to the Moabites: "O ye that dwell in Moab, leave the cities and dwell in the rock, and be like the dove that maketh her nest in the side of the hole's mouth."[3] A superstitious reliance upon the power of those sanctuaries, is indeed a frequent theme of his prophetic denunciations. When he threatens Edom, that all her cities shall be made perpetual wastes, he intimates the cause of that judgment thus: "Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rocks, that holdest the height of the hill[4];" for, as he says in another place, "Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains."[5] Again he thus declares the intention of God to reclaim the Israelites from similar idolatries: "I will send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks; for mine eyes are upon all

[1] In Chaldee דוּם, i. q. Heb. Part. דָּמִם, silens, mutus. — *Castell.*

[2] Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum, et opes, strepitumque Romæ. — *Od.* iii. 29.

[3] Jeremiah, xviii. 28. [4] Jeremiah, xix. 16.

[5] Ibid. ii. 23.

their ways: they are not hid from my face, neither is their iniquity hid from mine eyes."[1] The propriety and force of these expressions is greatly heightened by considering the peculiar nature of the idolatry reproved; an idolatry which consisted in turning certain cavities of rocks into sanctuaries, to be shut up in which was esteemed the highest act of religion; the initiated being supposed to be invested with supernatural powers by that mysterious seclusion. Hence the sanctuary of the Cumæan Sybil was a cave[2], and the oracle of Delphi was delivered from a narrow-mouthed fissure of the rock.[3] And in reference to this custom, God declares by the mouth of Isaiah: "I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth."[4] Hence also considerable light is thrown upon an instruction given to the prophet Jeremiah. God ordered him to take a girdle, and to go to Euphrates, and to hide it there in a hole in a rock; and after many days he goes for it, and finds it marred.[5] Now why was that great river particularly named; and why was the place of concealment to be a hole in the rock by the river, unless it were to show that even the most sacred places of idolatry could not prevent the marring of "the pride of Judah," any more than they could prevent the marring of the girdle? From the position of the cave in a rock by the river, it may very probably be conjectured, that the method by which the Almighty chose to effect his purpose, was

[1] Jeremiah, xvi. 16, 17.
[2] Virgil's Æneid, vi. 42.
[3] Strabo, lib. ix.
[4] Isaiah, xlv. 19. Lowth.
[5] Jeremiah, xiii. 1—10.

either a foreseen or a miraculous swelling of the waters, till they reached a height which had been previously considered secure from inundation; and so the irruption of the river, by which the girdle was marred, would be an impressive warning to those who were accustomed to look upon the cave, in which it was hidden, as a sanctuary and a safe asylum. And now let this passage be compared with another in Isaiah, which is addressed to the scornful men, who ruled the people in Jerusalem, and it will be found that each reflects light upon the other, and both have relation to the same superstitious usages. "Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us: for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves: therefore, thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste. Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet: and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place. And your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it. From the time that it goeth forth shall it take you: for morning by morning shall it pass over, by day and by night: and it shall be a vexation only to understand the report; for the bed

is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it, and the covering narrower than he can wrap himself in it."[1] The builders of Babel had been guilty of the same offence as these rulers of the people; and as superstition always borrows something from religion which it spoils and perverts, so they retained the fact of a covenant made with regard to death—the covenant that there should no more be a flood to destroy the earth.[2] But they deposed the sovereign of the universe in their hearts, and forgot the omnipotent Lord who established that covenant, and relied upon the outward memorials of salvation as means to be saved, and converted the Berith of the Lord into a Baris of their own, and determined to fear no future flood by building a sanctuary, which it should never touch.

In like manner the Arkite rulers of the Jews fancied that they could make a covenant with death, and resolved to be as secure from the vengeance of God, as if they had entered into an agreement with Hades, and had no fear of being carried away into the place of departed spirits. Even if that scourge of sin, the overflowing waters of the Deluge, should again traverse the earth, they were confident that it would never come near that false sanctuary which they had chosen for their refuge, and for the exercise of austerities which afforded them the lying pretence of working out their salvation by their own merits. The shortness of the bed and the narrowness of the covering are very evident allusions to the small dimensions of those

[1] Isaiah, xxviii. 15—20. [2] Genesis, ix. 11.

sacred cells, in which they hoped to secure themselves from all danger by mortification and abstraction. Yet it is not to be supposed that this is all which the prophet intended to express: his language is figurative; and we must always be careful not to take the literal sense for that which lies couched beneath the figure. He means that their sanctuaries would not be found to answer the purpose for which they were intended; they would be no protection to them, no asylum from the storm: for a flood of calamities would overtake them, and sweep away their refuge of lies; and repeated invasions of their land by merciless enemies would convince them, that their covenant with death was a delusion, and that all their mysterious observances could not save them from destruction. The following sentence is somewhat obscure: "It shall be a vexation only to understand the report:" but Horsley has suggested a much more intelligible sense: "It will be only a violent removal that will make them understand the declaration which they have heard."[1] In its primary sense this is spoken of the removal of the Jews into the land of their captivity, which taught them at last the falsehood of those superstitious rites, to which they were addicted, and the folly of trusting to them for safety. But its more remote and more important accomplishment is to be found in that entire removal of the nation from the land of promise, which was their punishment for rejecting the Messiah. The sure refuge and sanctuary for sinners prepared in him on Mount Sion is con-

[1] Horsley's Biblical Criticism, ii. 257.

trasted with the insecurity and worthlessness of that which they had chosen for themselves. The believer in him need never make haste to quit it from fear of danger[1]; for it rested upon a precious corner stone, too strong and firm to be ever removed or trodden down by any flood of evils. The corner stone of any ordinary building, even though laid in the foundation, may be removed without necessarily occasioning the fall of the superstructure; but in a Cromlech, if the stone which principally supports the weight of the incumbent mass be taken away, the whole fabric necessarily falls. When, therefore, it is understood to carry an allusion to those sanctuaries, the sense of the whole passage becomes much more pointed and forcible; especially when the prophet adds, that the stone of which he speaks is a stone of probation; for that is the more accurate rendering of the words which our English version renders "a tried stone." A similar false confidence in Arkite superstitions is thus rebuked by Amos speaking in the name of the Lord: "Though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence, and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent and he shall bite them."[2] For

[1] The Greek and Arabic versions are not so literal; they render this passage thus: "The believer shall not be ashamed." The Syriac has: "He shall not fear;" and the Targum of Jonathan: "He shall not be disturbed." Perhaps the same sense might have been better conveyed in English, by saying: "He shall not be hurried." For hurry implies agitation, and the prophet means that the believer in Christ shall never be agitated by fears and doubts.

[2] Amos, ix. 3.

immediately after, they are significantly reminded that the Lord God of Hosts is he that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth.[1] Nor was it without good reason that, in another passage where the same expression is used, they were exhorted to seek him who created the real day and night[2], in opposition to that fictitious darkness and shadow of death which prevailed in the Arkite sanctuaries, and who made both Chima and Chesil, which, it has been already shown, were mysterious names, not appropriated to any certain stars, except inasmuch as they were connected with Arkite commemoration: hence commentators are divided in opinion whether the former means Arcturus, or the Pleiads[3]; and whether the latter means Orion, or Cor Scorpii. When the passage is thus interpreted, it is easy to perceive the suitableness of the punishment which is threatened: Judgment shall run down as waters, and righteousness, *i. e.* vengeance, as a mighty stream or deluge[4]; and then it is more easy to comprehend the reproach urged against the Israelites, that they had "borne the tabernacle of their Moloch and Chiun their images."[5]

By some interpreters Chiun is understood to be Saturn; others take him for Hercules, who in Egypt was called Chon: in either sense it has been shown that he was an Arkite personage. The

[1] Amos, ix. 6. [2] Ibid. v. 8.

[3] See Aben Ezra, Munster, and Drusius.

[4] Judicium ultionis meæ, quasi moles aquarum inundantium affluet et volvetur ad vos.—*Munster.* So also the *Targum of Jonathan.*

[5] Amos, v. 26.

latter however was also called by the Tyrians Melcartus, which, we have seen, signified King of the Ship. Now Moloch means King in this place: if it had been a proper name, the possessive pronoun would not have been added. And so it is translated by Symmachus and Theodotion. Drusius therefore is of opinion, that this also is a name of Saturn; so that both are but two different appellations of one and the same divinity. They were Phœnician idols: but how then could Silius Italicus affirm that the Phœnicians had no statues of their gods?[1] He must have intended that they had no effigies of the human figure; for Moloch was represented with the head of a calf, and so his worship corresponded with that of Apis in Egypt, and with the whole train of idolatry to which the Israelites were most addicted from their first entrance into the wilderness, till their captivity was hastened by the idolatry of Jeroboam. But Amos calls them "images:" that, however, proves nothing; for images are elsewhere spoken of, which must be understood of something different from idols: for instance, Ezekiel tells them that "their idols shall be broken, and cease, and their images should be cut down."[2] And Josiah is said to have "broken down the altars of Baalim, and the images that were on high above them, and the carved images, and the golden images."[3] Now the golden images were probably the golden calves; the carved images were statues, which their insati-

[1] Nulla effigies simulacrave nota Deorum. — *Sil. Ital. Punic.* lib. iii. v. 20.

[2] Ezekiel, vi. 6.

[3] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4.

able appetite for idolatry had introduced. Therefore the images that were above the altars were something different from either. Now Sanchoniatho mentions a portable ark, or sanctuary, drawn about by oxen, like Hertha's, and sacred to the god Agrotes, who had also the titles of the Wanderer, and Titan, and was the ancestor of Thoth, and the Samothracian Cabiri[1], and whose name may be deduced from Agora, an altar or tumulus.[2] In like manner the Irish, according to Vallancey, had formerly a portable ark, which they called Arn Breith[3]; a title perfectly Hebrew; for Aren Berith is the Ark of the Covenant. Another name for it was Chamaon, or the representation: it now signifies a shrine; and this too is Hebrew: for the images about which we are inquiring were called Chamanim, and these, Aben Ezra maintains, were Antra, or dark temples. But when they were placed above the altars they must have been shrines only, or representations of those temples; and such a shrine no doubt was that Argoz, or Ark, in which the Philistines deposited their propitiatory offerings to the God of Israel, when, together with the Aron, or Ark of the Covenant, it was borne away by milch kine from their afflicted land, and placed upon the great stone of Abel.[4] Hence perhaps it was that the sacred receptacles of the sacerdotal order, the small dark chambers to which they were accustomed to resort, either for the practice of austerities,

[1] Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Selden de Diis Syr. Synt. i. 6.
[2] אוֹנָרָא, tumulus. אֲנָרָא, ara. — *Castell.* Gen. xxxi. 46. 1 Reg. xii. 33.
[3] Collect. de Reb. Hib. iv. 460.
[4] 1 Samuel, vi. 7, 8.

or to obtain credit for supernatural powers, and more intimate communication with the invisible world, were denominated Argilla. Ephorus supposed that these were the dwelling-places of the Cimmerians; but it was the same sort of mistake, by which a collection of cells at Quanterness in the Orkneys, which have not a single chink or hole for the admission of light, have been taken for a Pict's house.[1] The Cimmerian darkness which passed into a proverb was the absence of light, not from their dwellings, but from their sanctuaries, where it was at first adopted in imitation of the Ark, and afterwards continued under a notion of piety. This transition from a commemorative rite to an act of superstition may be illustrated by an Indian tradition. The Hindoos tell of an ancient king, who passed 100 years in a dark cavern of Crishna Giri[2], the black mountain, performing the most rigorous acts of devotion. At length Vishnu, surnamed Guhasaya, *i. e.* dwelling in caves, promised him a son to be named Tamovatsa, in allusion to the darkness in which his father had so long practised religious austerities: this son's wealth was so great that he raised three mountains.[3]

[1] Described by Mr. Barry.

[2] Chrishna, whose connection with the Arkites has been already explained, was perhaps a name assumed by some ambitious priest who usurped the place of Buddha, both here and elsewhere; for he had the name also of Gordhun-nath, or god of the mount of wealth, from the sacred hill Girdhana (the Giri, or mountain of Dhanu, or Janus), in a cave of which he had his first shrine, whence his miracles and oracles were made known to the Yadús. On the annual festival of Girdhana, the sacred mount is purified with copious oblations of milk. He is also Gop'h Nath, or Lord of the Cave; for his worship was chiefly celebrated in caves. — *Trans. of the Asiat. Soc.* ii. 311.

[3] Asiat. Research. iii. 163.

Now that some king, who practised religious austerities in a cavern, had a son to whom he gave a name expressive of the superstition to which he was attached, and that the son trained up in the same school raised three vast tumuli, for Arkite worship, are probably real matters of fact. But the length of time, and the darkness of the sanctuary, and its position in a mountain, and the employment of the son's wealth—all concur to prove that the facts are mingled with mythology, and that the prototype of the ancient king was the most ancient of post-diluvian kings, the patriarch himself. The same conversion of the Ark into a cavern has been found in the Western World; for the natives of Hayti, who had a tradition of the universal deluge, and not only of the fact, but of the cause (for they considered it the punishment of sin), said it issued from a gourd, in which a Cacique had inclosed the bones of a son whom he had slain: they believed, too, that mankind issued from one cavern, and the sun and moon from another.[1] So that the cavern, from which mankind first issued into the present world, was destitute of light: it had neither sun nor moon. But yet they were aware, that the persons afterwards worshipped in those luminaries issued from the Ark, and therefore the only way to reconcile both facts was to invent two caverns. Moreover, each Cacique had three idols, which were mere stones: they answered nearly the same purpose as the mountains of Tamovatsa; they were designed for commemoration. In the same light I think we must regard most of those abominations, with which

[1] Irving's Life of Columbus, ii. 117. and 119.

the Israelites were charged by the prophet Ezekiel [1], if we look to the original intention instead of the subsequent abuse. There were four degrees of offence, the highest of which was the worship of the sun; the others were inferior abominations, and, consequently, cannot include idolatry, in the strict and literal sense of the word; for the worship of a stock, or a stone, is more senseless and abominable than the worship of the sun. It is not easy to ascertain their exact nature; but there is sufficient light to discern something. The offence next in heinousness to that of worshipping the sun, was the women weeping for Tammuz, or, as Jerome renders it, Adonis. On this subject, the remarks of Parkhurst are well worthy of attention. He justly rejects the opinion of Macrobius, that Adonis signified the sun; and that the Syrian women wept for his passing into the southern hemisphere; for that is an event which, however it may excite regret in our colder climate, would not be deemed a great calamity in latitudes so much nearer to the path of the sun; and, 2dly, the date does not coincide with the time of the equinoctial colure; for it was in August, in the sixth month; and lastly, whatever that superstition was, it is expressly distinguished by the prophet from the worship of the sun, and declared to be a less heinous abomination. He therefore refers Tammuz, as well as Hercules, to a class of idols, which were originally designed to represent the promised Saviour [2], and derives it

[1] Ch. viii. ver. 3. to 16.

[2] Adonis is אֲדוֹנִי, Adoni, the Lord. Tammus from תָּם, to put an end to, and מַן, heat, *i. e.* wrath, or punishment.

from two words, which signify putting an end to wrath or punishment. The representation which Julius Firmicus gives of the solemnity is this:—an image was laid in a bed, and after great lamentation made over it, light was brought in, and the priest, anointing the mouths of the assistants, whispered to them that salvation was come, that deliverance was brought to pass.[1] Upon which their sorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken, as it were, out of its sepulchre. Now the doctrine of the Deluge has a close and necessary connection with the doctrine of a Saviour, and so far Parkhurst is right; but the subject of congratulation in these mysteries was a deliverance from wrath that had been experienced, and from punishment that had been inflicted: for it is far more likely, that a ceremony, not of divine institution, looked backward to a past and known event, which was indelibly impressed upon the memory of mankind, rather than forward to a future event, which was entirely the object of faith, and known to believers only by divine revelation.

The weeping for Tammuz, therefore, was, like the wailings for Osiris, expressive of that dismal period, when the Patriarch entered into the figurative Hades, that dark and dread abode, his deliverance from which was like a resurrection from the dead. Of the other two modes of superstition condemned by the prophet, the least offensive is denominated the image of jealousy; and since no

[1] Θαῤῥεῖτε τῷ θεῷ, ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία. — *Godwyn's Moses and Aaron*, p. 186.

other description of it or allusion to it is given besides this, we are left to infer that its criminality consisted, not so much in some reverence being paid to the image, as in the circumstance of that reverence overstepping its due degree, and encroaching on that which belongs to God alone. It excited the jealousy of Jehovah by coming in competition with his worship, and only on that account was sinful. Now such would be the exact state of things, if some shrine like the Argos, or Bari, in which the Philistines deposited their propitiatory offerings, maintained the post, with which it was then honoured, close to the Ark of the Covenant, and therefore was placed upon the altar. In itself it was doubly sacred; for, 1. It was an offering to the God of Israel, and a tribute to his omnipotence: and 2. It was, like the Ark of the Covenant itself, a monument of his mercy to the patriarchs. But if it was at length equally honoured with that Ark, which was of divine appointment, it was enough to provoke him to jealousy; for it raised a mere human device to the same level of honour with God's own express institution. But the second and graver abomination of which Ezekiel complains tended still more to idolatry. By digging, as he was commanded, he discovered a secret subterraneous chamber; the walls of which were covered with paintings of animals, and all the idols of the house of Israel. The question is, what those idols were; and it is obvious that they could not be worshipped as gods: for otherwise, how could they be reckoned only third in the scale of

abominations? The word in the original signifies something filthy. Perhaps they were obscenities; perhaps Lingams. In the 18th chapter it scarcely admits of any other interpretation, as the context shows. But *all* the idols of the house of Israel implies something more; and it is not unlikely that they were all the Arkite symbols, whether corrupted by sensuality or not. The root from which the Hebrew word is derived, is the same as that of Gilgal, where it has been shown that there was a circle of pillars, which in this country would have been called a Druidical temple, and which seems to have been the occasion of a great defection from the worship prescribed by the law. For there the people "multiplied transgression,"[1] and there was "all their wickedness[2]," and therefore the place specially marked out for captivity was Gilgal.[3] The offending altars are described as heaps in the furrows of the fields[4], and the term expressing those heaps, or tumuli, is nearly the same as that which is used for the idols[5], and it sometimes has the signification of waves. If the imagery in that chamber consisted of so many objects of direct worship, it is clear that it would have been the most abominable of all the abominations. But why then were those figures introduced? If any similitude to Noah's Ark was designed, it was surely an excellent method of conveying that notion; and such a conjecture is

[1] Amos, iv. 4.
[2] Hosea, ix. 15.
[3] Amos, v. 5.
[4] Hosea, xii. 11.
[5] גִּלּוּלִי idola, circuli, גַּלִּים, acervi, fluctus. — *Passionei Lex.*

in perfect harmony with the sentiments which they who sought that asylum are supposed to utter. "The Lord seeth us not," *i. e.* regardeth not his creatures: "the Lord hath forsaken the earth," as he did at the time of the Deluge. Warburton observes, that "the paintings and imagery on the walls of this subterraneous apartment answer exactly to the descriptions which the ancients have given us of the mystic cells of the Egyptians[1];" those cells in which the mysteries of Isis and Osiris were celebrated, and in which none were initiated but the most eminent men; for so, in this instance, the seventy ancients of the house of Israel, the members of the Sanhedrim, were there assembled. Now it has been sufficiently shown, that the mysteries were Arkite ceremonies, and the Egyptians an Arkite people. If it be asked why this was a smaller abomination than the weeping for Tammuz, which was an allusion to the same event, though little information is given us to decide the question, yet thus much may be reasonably conjectured. It has been shown, that the weeping was occasioned by the death, which the image or person representing the Patriarchs was supposed to undergo, when buried in the mystic cell, that represented the Ark. Hence the initiated being thus transferred as it were to Hades, had the credit of obtaining a degree of supernatural knowledge, and a closer communion with the gods[2]; for which rea-

[1] Divine Legation of Moses.

[2] Sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit,

son, when Isaiah complains of the people provoking the Lord by remaining among the graves, and lodging in the monuments, and saying, "Stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou," Lowth very justly observes [1], that they dwelled in the sepulchres, and lodged in the caverns, for the purposes of necromancy and divination to obtain dreams and revelations. For thus the Augilæ, a people of Africa, who thought there were no gods but the Manes of their ancestors, were accustomed to repair to Tumuli, when they wanted to consult the oracle [2]; and the dreams of those who slept there were deemed a divine answer: and at the present day a similar seclusion from the world for a short period is practised by those who pretend to be magicians in Syria. Madan informs us [3], on the authority of Lady Esther Stanhope, whose long residence in that country has made her quite familiar with the habits of the natives, that thirty days fasting and silence is considered necessary to prepare a man for intercourse with spirits. An Italian doctor underwent this first trial in a cave, and at the expiration of that term, he was visited by a spirit in dark attire, which terrified him so much that he had not courage to venture on the second step of initiation.

Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
Colloquio, atque imis Acheronta affatur Avernis.
Virg. Æn. viii. 76.

[1] Lowth on Isaiah, lxv. 3, 4, 5.
[2] Pomponius Mela, de Situ Orbis, lib. i. c. 8.
[3] Madan's Travels, ii. 283.

CHAP. XXV.

CAVES IN BŒOTIA — ALEXANDRIA — CALABRIA — ARGOS — TELMESSUS — OF THE NYMPHS — CYCLOPIAN. — COMPOSTELLA. — CAVES OF PURIFICATION IN GREECE. — CROMLECHS OR ARTIFICIAL CAVES IN IRELAND — WALES — ANGLESEY — SCOTLAND — FRANCE — NOT ALTARS.

THE cave of Trophonius near Lebadea in Bœotia was a remarkable oracle of this description; and notwithstanding the total ignorance of its real origin, which like the ivy on a ruin conceals the form of truth in the writers who have mentioned it, yet on a closer inspection we can easily detect the various members of a genuine Arkite monument. It was discovered by bees; that is, Melissæ, or priestesses. It was the residence of serpents, who were to be disarmed of their fury by those who entered it. It was the sepulchre of Trophonius; concerning whose history the reports are so very contradictory, and destitute of evidence, that we may conclude they were all fictions. In Hebrew the etymology of his name will be Toreph Ani, The Mighty Ship.[1] It was on the top of a mountain, in a circle formed of white stones. Its shape was like an oven; beneath which through a narrow passage there was another cavern, where the consulter of the oracle heard or saw things which the priests afterward interpreted; no difficult

matter to those, by whom the whole had been arranged beforehand. But previously it was necessary to pass some days in a cell dedicated to the good Genius and to Fortune, and to be purified in the waters of the river Hercyna.[1] This is the account which Pausanias gives. Dr. Clarke describes it thus:—the cave of Trophonius is a Hieron surrounded with rocks, bare and rugged, rising in fearful precipices to a great height, the silence of the place being only interrupted by the roaring of waters bursting with uncommon force from their cavernous abyss. This is the source of the river Hercyna. The Adytum[2] is small and low; barely capacious enough to admit the passage of a man's body. Mr. Cripps, having introduced his whole body into it, found by pushing forward a long pole, that the passage was entirely closed beyond. Immediately below this aperture, which is close to the ground, a fountain issues into a bath a few paces distant from the other source. The most sacred part of the Hieron is a perpendicular rock of black marble, on the summit of which there had been a large pillar of the same stone; but the whole space along the banks of the river, from the ancient city of Lebadea to the residence of the oracle, was covered with temples, Hiera, images, and every species of votive decoration.[3] Pausanias mentions obelisks of brass. Now the celebrity of the oracle

[1] Τὸ δὲ οἴκημα Δαίμονός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀγαθῆς. — *Pausan. Bœot.* c. 39.

[2] Hesychius says, that the Adytum was a cave or the secret part of a temple.

[3] Clarke's Travels, vii. 56—167.

was by no means proportionate to all this apparatus of devotion, neither is it possible on that ground alone to account for its influence extending so far. But when it is considered, what a lively image of that day, in which the fountains of the great deep were broken up, must have been conveyed to the mind of him who lay in the sanctuary, half stunned with the rush and roar of waters just below him, it is not difficult to understand why such a purifying efficacy was attributed to the stream, that even to a considerable distance from its source it would be esteemed peculiarly holy. Above the Adytum there are twelve sanctuaries, or niches, as Clarke calls them, because he could not see that they had any other use than to receive votive offerings; and yet one of these niches he owns to be a chamber nearly twelve feet square, and more than eight in height, and with a stone bench, which he takes for the seat, or throne, of Mnemosyne; though Pausanias's statement, that it lies not far from the Adytum, gives more the idea of a detached rock than that of a seat hewn out of the solid stone in a chamber immediately above the Adytum.[1] This niche was doubtless the cell in which those who came to be initiated passed some days, in order that as Noah was permitted to enter the Ark, because he found grace in the eyes of the Lord, so they might be prepared to enter the sanctuary by ingratiating themselves with the divinity of the place; for no other mode of doing this occurred to their uninstructed minds, than a temporary morti-

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 39.

fication of the body and seclusion from the world. In consequence of the benefits which it thus conveyed, the cell was dedicated to the good Genius; to that Agathodæmon, whom the Egyptians called Chneph, and Canopus, and represented by a serpent; as if they wished to declare their belief that the destroying and preserving power were in fact but one. Under the same head, therefore, we may probably include those cells at Alexandria, not far from the ancient Canopus, and connected by a canal with that branch of the Nile called Agathodæmon, which are usually denominated the Necropolis: for the only entrance into them is a small aperture facing the sea; and Shaw, who examined them, maintains, that they were not intended for the reception of mummies, or embalmed bodies.[1]

Clarke indeed denies this assertion on the authority of Strabo[2]; but the passage which he cites speaks not of the fact, but merely of the adaptation of the Cryptæ, for such a purpose; and if any proof of the fact had been still visible, he would have adduced it. What he calls Soroi were probably cisterns[3]; for near this spot is a decided rock basin — an artificial reservoir hewn out of the rock, to which the sea has access: and the chambers which he mentions probably belonged to the priests, who officiated in the Serapeum.[4] They

[1] Shaw's Travels, p. 293.

[2] Καταγωγαὶ πρὸς ταῖς ταριχείαις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδειαι. — Lib. xvii. 1128.

[3] Clarke's Travels, v. 389. 394.

[4] The Serapeum of Racotis, a city which was in ruins before the building of Alexandria.

may be the Catagogæ of Strabo, and their fitness for embalming dead bodies need not be denied. But when he says that, as depositories of the dead, they were consequently places of worship, whose dark and subterraneous caverns were aptly suited to the ideas entertained of Hades, he exactly inverts the true order of things; for the darkness of those caverns, and the ideas of Hades associated with them, first made them places of worship, and then being sacred places, they might have become depositories of the dead, although there is no evidence that they ever were. The same observation holds good with regard to many other excavations, which have been designated tombs. Thus, for instance, one in Calabria, was called the sepulchre of Podalyrius, where the Daunians used to lie down on sheepskins, expecting to receive oracles in that dreamy silence.[1] But what of Podalyrius, — who is he? Homer's Greek physician could have no business in Calabria, no right to the veneration of its inhabitants: neither history nor tradition have transmitted to us the least notice of any person to whose character so much sanctity could be attached.[2] But the whole difficulty is explained by taking him to be a personage merely mythological; and as much mythology came from the east, we must look to that quarter for the meaning of the word. Podalyrius then is Boudha of the sea;

1 Cælius Rhodiginus in Virg. lib. vii. Servius, p. 213.

2 Virgil, with great propriety, gives the name of Podalirius to one of his Laurentian heroes, but introduces him only once for the purpose of killing Alsus, the Shepherd.

for Luhr, in Hindoostanee, is the sea.[1] Hence the district is called Laurinus, or Laurens, or Laurentius; and hence Lerna, whether the fountain or the marsh so called[2], obtained its name; and hence the Po, or Eridanus, was also denominated Lirndanus: again, a subterraneous edifice at Argos, of a circular form, and lighted by a dome, is called the tomb of Agamemnon; but it has a trench round it, and a small elliptical door into an interior cell of smaller dimensions. Chateaubriand could not perceive that it had any walls, and could not account for the little door.[3] We are not certain, says he, that it is the sepulchre of Agamemnon mentioned by Pausanias. Much in the same way an excavation in the rock of the Piræus is called the tomb of Themistocles; but as it is on a level with the sea, and covered by the high tide[4], it is a very strange situation for giving repose to the bones of the dead. As an Arkite cell it is quite appropriate. So also some remarkable monuments in the Island Macris, which is in the gulph of Glaucus, are called the tombs of Telmessus; but the title is contradicted by the description, which savours much more of the mystic cell. They are either hewn in the face of perpendicular rocks, or they are Soroi, of a size far exceeding anything of the kind elsewhere, and standing in some instances upon the craggy pinnacles of lofty and precipitous rocks. Some are of single stones; but the largest near the shore are

[1] Vallancey says that Lear is Sea in Irish. — *Pref.* p. 84.

[2] The Scholiast on Pindar observes, that some considered it to be one, and some the other.

[3] Travels, i. 162.

[4] Ibid. p. 223.

composed of five immense masses of stone[1]—four for the sides, and one for a cover. A small opening shaped like a door in the side, facing the harbour, is barely large enough to allow a passage for a human body. Another small opening in the floor seemed to communicate with an inferior vault: such cavities might be observed in all the sepulchres of Telmessus, excepting those cut in the rocks. Into the interior of some of these, Dr. Clarke was admitted through a small rectangular opening, and there he found a "square chamber, with one or more receptacles for dead bodies, shaped like baths, upon the sides of the apartment, and neatly chiselled in the body of the rock."[2]

These receptacles, which he takes for granted were intended for dead bodies, although without the smallest evidence that they ever contained bones, or dust, or urns, or ashes, were not only like baths, but they were real cisterns, receptacles of water for the purification of the initiated; for the mysteries were acted both in natural caves and in artificial excavations[3]; and therefore cisterns were a very necessary appendage to those cells, wherever there was not a natural run of water. In the cave of the Nymphs[4] there was an everflowing spring, and there were vases and basins to make use of it for that purpose. It was the opinion of Porphyry, that all the occurrences

[1] Some of these were 8 feet 5 inches, by 2 feet 6 inches, and the covering stone is ten feet long.
[2] Clarke's Travels, iii. 304. and 317.
[3] Porphyrius, de Antro Nympharum, c. 6.
[4] Homer. Odyss. lib. xiii. 105. and 109.

mentioned by Homer there are only representations of the mysteries in the cave; that his depositing his treasures in it, and his subsequent transformation, his rags, and his wrinkles, and his beggary, and his suppliant form, denoted his abstraction from temporal things, and his resolution to cast away every thing that could interfere with his spiritual good.[1] It is evident that Porphyry, though he leaned too much to his own understanding to receive the Gospel, yet had torn a leaf out of it for the benefit of his own philosophy, and adopted some notions of religion, which nature never taught him. I only adduce his opinion in order to show that the cave of the Nymphs, with all its apparatus for ablution, was considered by the best-informed heathen writers a mystic cell; and it is remarkable, that these Nymphs are said to have presided over regeneration, and to have been the assistants of Dionusus, *i. e.* the Arkite priest.[2] Arkite associations, indeed, are abundantly connected with caves in ancient traditions: hence, Cronus is said to have prepared a cave in the ocean itself, in which he hid his children; and hence, in Naxos, caves were sacred to Dionusus, and in Arcadia, or the country of the Ark, to the moon, that is, to the Bari represented by the crescent. They were also sacred to Pan[3]; for he had a double interest in them: first, according to the original meaning of the word,

[1] Porphyrius, de Antro Nympharum, c. 33.

[2] Hermias, MS. Comment. in Plat. Phædrum, in R. M. Van Goen's Animadversiones.

[3] Porphyrius, de Antro Nymph. c. 7. and 20. Clarke notices one which would barely admit the size of the human figure, vi. 215. Pausanias mentions his cave and fountain, lib. i. c. 28.

because he was the deity of the mountain; and secondarily, by Greek corruption, because he was the genius of the universe; for to the universe they were sometimes dedicated [1], — to which I know not that they could have any claim, except through the medium of the Ark, which was in itself a microcosm [2], a little universe of animals. But further, these caves were sacred also to the dead. Those who had the management of the mysteries taught the aspirants to initiation to believe that in them departed spirits descended and ascended [3]; and hence a cavern in the eastern part of Capri bears the appellation of Matermanium [4]; and hence the people of Telmessus, who had such excellent opportunities of familiar intercourse with the invisible world, became celebrated for their skill in soothsaying.[5] It is true that the seats of their oracles were either Cromlechs or the artificial excavations which have been just described, and which form the connecting link between the cavern and the Cromlech; but they are all copies from the same prototype, however their proportions may vary. Some monuments of the same nature, but on a larger scale, and consequently more approximating to the cavern, have been discerned upon the coast of Circassia. They are six in number, and each of them is composed of five large stones, of which four form the walls of a parallelogram, covered by the fifth, which is fourteen feet

[1] Porphyrius, de Antro Nymph. c. 5.
[2] In sich abgeschlossenen Weltganzen. — *Baur.* p. 92.
[3] Porphyr. de Antro Nympharum, c. 5.
[4] Sir R. C. Hoare's Tour in Italy and Sicily, p. 201.
[5] Arrian, Exped. lib. 2.

long, by ten and a half broad. That which forms the façade stands farther back than the two side stones, so as to make a kind of open vestibule; and in the lower part of it there is a round hole, little more than twenty-eight inches in diameter, for the admission of those who engaged in Arkite mysteries[1]: for Pchiate, near which they stand, was the seat of the Achæan Phthedes, who, according to Strabo, accompanied Jason in the Argo, and consequently was an Arkite: the modern name is evidently a corruption from that of the ancient Argonaut. In this case, there is no question of burial at all: no such idea seems to have been suggested to the narrator by anything that fell under his notice; and their structure precludes the possibility of that mistake into which some travellers have fallen, who have converted the larger sanctuaries into military posts. Captain Beechey, for instance, observed between Carcora and Ghimenes certain buildings of Cyclopian architecture of a square form, but with the angles rounded off, and some of them filled with earth to within six or eight feet from the top, and these he took for forts. They have trenches round them; but, in one instance, he observed chambers excavated, in the sides of the trench, as he found to be the case in that which surrounds the second pyramid, and near most of them there was a small rising ground, with one or two wells in it.[2]

[1] Letter from a Russian Officer in the Literary Gazette, April, 1829.

[2] Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, by Captain Beechey, p. 245. The same officer concluded that the smaller excavations in rocks, which he saw, were tombs; but he honestly confesses: "We never were fortunate enough to find any thing in

Now all this has as little the air of military design as can well be imagined: what are we to think of chambers excavated in the trenches, and wells neither within the fort, nor protected by it? For there are no apertures in the walls for missiles, and the only entrance was one hole in the wall, through which those who wished to enter must be drawn up, and consequently useless, either for quick retreat, or for sallying out upon an enemy. But the resemblance to the second pyramid decides the matter: they were temples of the Arkites. Scholz mentions a similar monument near Aboukir; but not being a military man did not conclude it to be a fort. The architecture and form were much the same; and it was surrounded by numerous cisterns.[1] The very frequent excavations in rocks, which he saw on the hills, he distributes into cemeteries and dwellings of Eremites[2]; and not without some reason: only his Eremites were Arkites, and perhaps in after ages the monks may have succeeded to their cells, and sometimes the saint might desire that his mortal remains should rest where he had lived. But they were too near together to answer the purpose of hermits in search of solitude. Round a church near Jerusalem he noticed many subterraneous chambers[3], to which he assigns no

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them, which could point out decidedly the mode of burial which had been adopted;" a thing almost incredible, if they had been really tombs; and some of them were entered by wells of different depths, p. 246.

[1] Scholtz, Reise in die Gesend zwischen Alexandrien und Paratonium, p. 50.

[2] Ibid. p. 156. and 164.

[3] Ibid. p. 180.

use. But there can be little doubt that they were of greater antiquity than the church, and that the site was chosen for that edifice, because it had been previously dedicated to religious purposes. Of this practice we have a good instance in the history of the church at Compostella, which is evidently built over an ancient Arkite cell. The body of St. James was said to have been brought into Spain from Syria in a ship miraculously provided.[1] But the place to which it was brought was unknown, till the bishop observing a light shining at night upon the mountain, had that part of it dug up in his presence. They soon discovered a hollow place artificially wrought into the form of a cave, and within it the Ark or tomb of marble, containing the body of St. Jago: and this Ark must have been instinct with supernatural power; for it opened of its own accord to receive the body of the saint.[2] The monks, no doubt, adopted these cells from the same feeling which actuated St. John the dwarf, when he retired to St. Anthony's mountain abode; because it was already sacred.[3] The cell of that saint was a Cromlech on a steep and rocky mountain, from the foot of which a spring gushed forth, and it was only just large enough for a man to lie down at full length: two other cells of the same dimensions were excavated in the summit of the rock, the ascent of which was so difficult, that he was there quite secure from interrup-

[1] Histor. Compostellana, lib. i. c. 1.
[2] Morales, Cronica General de España, tom. ii. p. 232.
[3] Mémoires Géographiques sur l'Egypte, par E. Quatremère, i. 152.

tion.[1] Nor is this a practice confined only to the earlier and darker ages of the Church. It has existed up to a very recent date; for it is only a few years ago, since an Anchorite, called the Holy Man in the Stone, shut himself up in such a cell at Foure in Ireland, and was constantly visited by devotees, who left at their departure an offering, or, as they phrased it, a devotion on his altar.[2] The cell was so small that he could hardly stretch himself at length on the floor, which is an excellent illustration of that passage in Isaiah which has been explained: "The bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it, and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it"[3]: for "a bed" was sometimes the popular name of those cells. Thus on a conical hill on the western coast of Mayo, an ancient monument of walls, without cement, seven feet high and fifteen long, is called the Giant's Bed[4]; but its remarkable shape, which imitates a ship with a sharp head and a squarish stern[5], sufficiently demonstrates that it was an

[1] Hieron. Vita Sanct. Hilarionis, tom. iv. part 2. p. 85. Montfaucon mentions several cells in a vast rock, that hangs over the river Anio at Vicovaro, once tenanted by Benedictine monks.

[2] Sir H. Piers's Description of Westmeath, p. 64.

[3] Isaiah, xxviii. 20.

[4] On a similar hill near Constantinople, called the Giant's Mountain, a monument, which some still denominate the Bed of Hercules, is commonly said to be the Giant's Tomb; and a most gigantic giant he must have been; for though it measures 50 feet in length, it is supposed to contain only half of his body. The Dervishes say that he was Joshua. — *Sir G. Temple's Travels*, ii. 77. The same traveller describes a building of Cyclopian architecture in the island of Gozo, which is called the Giant's Tower: it was certainly Arkite; for it was a Phœnician temple with several sanctuaries, one of which contained a cone 2½ feet high, another a rock basin, and a third the well-known diluvian serpent, i. 191.

[5] Archæologia, ix. 273.

Arkite cell. So also a cave in Cilicia, with an exceedingly narrow entrance, and therefore quite dark, was called by a similar name, the Bed of Typhon. Mela's account of it would lead any one at first to suppose that it was infested by mephitic air; for he says that it immediately deprived of life whatever was put into it.[1] But that is inconsistent with his description of its darkness and its narrow dimensions, derived from the experience of those who had tried it. We must suppose, therefore, that he only expresses the popular opinion, that it was the abode of death, because it was an Arkite cell; for which the darkness made it more suitable, though it was not an invariable and necessary appendage: for the darkness which prevailed at the time of the Deluge has been well remembered by tradition, in an account that has been transmitted to us of the origin of the name given to the Isle of Delos. It is said, that after the first Deluge in the time of Ogyges, the light of day having been obscured for nine months and more by continual night, Delos was the first land illuminated by the rays of the sun, and obtained that name because it was the first restored to sight.[2] This fully confirms what has been before stated, that Delos owed its original sanctity to its being a representative of Mount Ararat. Savary, therefore, was mistaken in supposing that the darkness, which

[1] Ore angusto et multum, ut experti tradidere, pressus et ob id assiduâ nocte suffusus: aliquando cubile Typhonis fuit, et nunc demissa in se confestim exanimat. — *Pomponius Mela, de Situ Orbis*, c. 13.

[2] Solin. Polyhist. c. 11.

the Egyptians expressed by the term Athor, was that which was spread over Chaos before the Creation.[1] He perceived clearly enough that it was not the ordinary darkness of night; but he went too far back, when he fetched it from Chaos. There was a darkness far more interesting to the sons of men, and more worthy to be had in remembrance — the darkness which reminded them of God's hatred of sin, and the just vengeance with which he visited the earth.

But as the heart of man, when left to itself, is always devising evil, so, even where the facts of the Deluge had made the strongest impression, the doctrine was soon corrupted, and voluntary austerities were supposed to expiate sin; and penance, in any imitation of the Ark, was thought to raise the inmate to a level with the Patriarch, and to appease the wrath of heaven. Upon this principle, the hollow rock where Œdipus went to die, was, doubtless, a cave of purification, in which he thought he might expiate his crimes[2]; and Creon shut up Antigone in a Cromlech, closed by a single stone, in a place untrod by man[3], and gave her food enough to save the state from the crime of starving her, and bade her see whether Hades, whom she served, would preserve her or not. Now since the weeping for Thammuz was a part of this system of religion, the first link in the chain of those uncommanded and unapproved methods of penance, which pre-

[1] Lettres sur l'Egypte, par M. Savary, iii. 94.

[2] Sophoc. in Œdip. Tyran. v. 1667.

[3] Χώματος λιθοσπαδῆ ἁρμὸν, and πετρώδει ἐν κατώρυχι. — *Sophoc. Antigone*, 785.

sumed to make satisfaction for sin, not only without regard to the will of God, but often in direct opposition to it, we can easily understand why it was an abomination in His sight; but it is not so easy to understand how the same idle hope of absolution, to be obtained by unmeaning austerities, could find any encouragement in a Christian church, when it is so utterly at variance with the whole tenor of the scheme of salvation in the Gospel. Nevertheless it has been encouraged, and many an Arkite cell occupied by professors of Christianity, has witnessed the performance of rites not less deserving abomination than those of Thammuz; the most celebrated of them is one which has been mentioned before, under the name of Patrick's Purgatory. It is a cave in an island on a lake, and therefore eminently Arkite; it is thus described by Ariosto, in the following lines:—

E vide Ibernia fabulosa, dove
Il santo vecchiarel fece la cava,
In che tanta mercè par che si trove,
Che l'uom vi purga ogni sua colpa prava.[1]

The poet had sense enough to perceive that its virtues were fabulous; but, unfortunately, the ignorant Irish are of a different opinion, even at this day. A recent writer says, "I have been informed by a pilgrim, who annually frequents this holy island, that at least two hundred persons on an average daily enter this terrestrial purgatory, for which great privilege even beggars must pay eighteen-pence. The pennyless pilgrims must live on one meal of

[1] Orlando Furioso, Can. x. 92.

bread and water each day, and must sleep in one promiscuous group on the cold ground of the chapel floor. On the prison day these austerities are increased by their being altogether prohibited from eating, drinking, or sleeping. The consequence is that numbers annually die on this holy island.[1]" The purgatory itself is a narrow cell hewn out of the rock, in which a man can scarcely stand upright; and at a considerable distance from the shore there is a sacred stone, to which the pilgrim must wade through the water, and think that he drowns his sins in it, as Moses did his enemies in the Red Sea. How many Arkite features are crowded together here! — the dark cell, the penance, the prison, the deaths, the insulated rock, and the expiation by water. The fabulous account, too, of its origin is the very counter-part of Jupiter's conflict with Typhon; only in this instance the monster is called by the strange title of the Devil's Mother. No creature could, without forfeiture of its life, come within the scene of her devastations: but St. Patrick, armed with holy water, and a cross of Irish black-thorn, attacked the fiend in her gloomy den, and pursued her into the Lake of Loughderg, where she in vain attempted to conceal herself, and, after a dreadful engagement, killed her. Here St. Patrick is the man of the Ark, or mystic cell, victorious over the diluvian serpent. At Coronea Chapel, in Cavan, the same ceremonies are practised; and the pilgrim who enters it is taught that he must fancy himself entering the holy island of Loughderg, which is

[1] Hindooism in Ireland, by a quondam Pilgrim, p. 4.

holy, in imitation of Mount Sinai. Now substitute Ararat for Sinai, and you have a full explanation of all the reverence paid to cells, and caves, and Cromlechs. No greater stretch of imagination is required in the one case than in the other: but there is much more resemblance to the Armenian mountain, and more connection with the events there transacted.

The instance of Coronea Chapel and its scrupulous imitation of Loughderg is of great value in this inquiry, because it exemplifies the principle upon which very many Arkite cells might be copied from one that had a peculiar odour of sanctity among the people, in perfect ignorance of its real origin, and of the purpose for which it was at first designed. They abound in Ireland under various forms. At Ballyrogan, on the road from Belfast to Newtown Ards, they are little caves of a round or elliptical shape, under tumuli of earth, and each of them covered with a large flag.[1] In other places, especially in the county of Kerry, and west of the county of Cork, they are the stone vaults, called Deire by the Persians, and at home Teach Draoi [2], or the House of the Priest. The old Glossarists say that Eacdairis signified a priest; and whether the first word be read Eac, the moon, or Earc, the Ark, it equally follows, from what has been already said upon that subject, that he was an Arkite priest. It is to be observed that the sanctuary was sometimes confounded, not only

[1] Collect. de R. H. vi. 294.

[2] Ibid. p. 137. and Smith's Hist. of Kerry. In Egypt a temple of Athor, the guardian of the West, to whom the cow was sacred, is called Dayr el Medeeneh. — *Wilkinson's Thebes*, p. 82.

with the priest who officiated in it, but also the divinity supposed to reside in it. Diomruch was the name of a covered temple, which the vulgar Irish called Leaba Diarmud, the Bed of Diarmud, already noticed. It is a corruption of Di-airmid, the Almighty God, by which name the Cromlech, as well as the spirit residing in it, was sometimes called. Diomruch, interpreted by the Hebrew [1], will signify the resting-place of the spirit. Some of the priests of Crom were called Crom Thear [2], and Thear and Dairi are evidently the same word; but Dar in Irish is an oak [3], corresponding to Hedar in Hebrew, to Daraz in Persian, and to Drus in Greek; and since these priests were much concerned with the oak, on account of the misseltoe which grew in it, we see at once how they came to be called Druids. Many of their mystic cells were elevated, as we have seen, to the dignity of round towers; but others were content to bear the ruder form of the common Cromlech, some of the most remarkable of which I now proceed to describe. The covering stone is usually supported by only three stones [4], but not invariably. In the county of Cork, one mile east of Glanworth, it rests on

[1] דמי רוח. [2] Collect. iv. 467.

[3] O'Reilly's Dictionary.

[4] Thus at Bodower, in Bodedern parish, a truncated pyramid on the top of a mound is supported on three stones, its dimensions 7 feet long, 6 broad, and 6 thick. Near Plâs Newydd another 13 long, 9 broad, 3 thick; and a smaller one by its side, 6 by 5, and 2½ in thickness, are each supported on 3 stones. — *Rowland's Mona Antiqua.* At Molfra in Cornwall the coverstone is 14 ft. 3 in. by 9 ft. 8 in.: the three supports are 5 feet high. It stands on a low stone barrow.— *Borlase's Cornwall.* In the parish of Nicholas, in South Wales, the coverstone, which measures 18 feet by 15, rests on three supports. It is called Carrig Maen Llwyth: another near it, 8 feet high, is called Maes y Velin, the stone of Belinus. — *Archæol.* iii. 115.

seven, three on each side, and one at the end. The length of it is fifteen feet, the breadth eight, and the thickness three and a half. At one end it is lengthened out by the addition of two other stones, each six feet long by eight, and each supported by four pillars, which converge at the opposite extremity, so as only to leave a passage two feet and a half wide.[1] In the county of Armagh, near Newry, is Carn Bain; and since Baine signifies water, there could not be a clearer intimation that it is a diluvian Carn, or Cromlech, for it seems to be both. It is an oval, closed every where except at the two extremities; it is formed of stones lining a mound of earth, and containing a cell in the interior, which is covered with a large stone, supported by nine others[2]: another Cromlech on the top of Craig's Rock, in the county of Antrim, has four supporters, two in front, four feet high, and the same distance asunder. At the back it rises to the height of seven feet and a half; and in the north end, the chamber underneath opens into two vaults, about seven feet square: the whole is contained within a circle of stones, forty-five feet in diameter, which, again, is surrounded by an exterior inclosure of earth.[3] There is a tradition, that in former times the table-stone could move. As there is not the least reason to suppose that it ever was, or ever could have been, a rocking-stone, the tradition can only allude to the motion of the vessel, which it represents. Now, if Vallancey is right in his etymology of Antrim, if Ean Druim

[1] Vallancey's Vind. of Ir. Collect. iv. 470. [2] Collect. vi. 182.
[3] Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Ant. of Ir. p. 22.

means a habitation upon the waters, and Druim is a conical hill or cave, it is exactly the place where we might most reasonably expect to find an Arkite monument; and the fact is further confirmed by the ring of stones, and by the circular inclosure. In the county of Kilkenny, on the Walch mountains, that tower over the river Suir, *i. e.* the river of the moon, a huge mass of rock reclines upon three others; the top of it, which is fifteen feet from the ground, rests on a flat stone, which is itself supported beyond its centre by an upright one, so that if the pressure were removed, it must fall to the ground. Two other large stones on either side contribute to form a chamber, in which it is said Fin Mac Coil kept his greyhounds. This looks like an allusion to Nimrod, the hunter; but Coil, says Mr. Finegan, means a sacred cavern, and Mac Coil, consequently, is a priest, the Son of the Cavern [1]; or, if the name was Fin na Coil, he would still be the Lord of the cavern; for Fin, in some of the most ancient dialects, signified Lord.[2] But whether he were the Lord of the Cavern or the Son of the Cavern, it can only be understood in a sacerdotal sense; for the strong impression that prevailed among the Irish peasantry, of the dedication of such cavities in rocks to sacred purposes, long after the introduction of Christianity, and not only without reference to any saint, but wholly independent of any Christian service in the shape of

[1] Archæologia, xvi. 266.

[2] Bann multas habet formas et multos significatus in antiquissimis dialectis. Scribitur Ben, Byn, Fan, Fann, Pan, Pen, Pin, Pfin. Significat, 1. Altum; 2. Summitas; 3. Dominus.—*Wachter, Gloss. Germ.*

penance, may be seen in one of their traditions. In old times, it is said, a friar was carrying a relic, called Corpnou, across the iron lake, in Westmeath, when it fell in and was lost. The neighbouring convent mourned and fasted for it; but when the days of grief were over, some swine were seen in a posture of devotion round a hillock, in which a large square stone was found: it was hollow, and contained the lost relic. Its shape is described like that of a Bible; but whether it had any thing hidden within it was known to no man living.[1] From the latter circumstance I should conclude, that the date of this transaction was after the commencement of the Reformation, when it might be necessary sometimes to hide the Bible. But no such thing entered into the heads of those who propagated and preserved the tradition; for they probably knew no more about the Bible than they did about the Deluge; but they adapted the story to their own pre-existent notions, according to which no place was more suitable for the discovery of any thing sacred than a Cromlech, under a tumulus, in a lake, or by the side of it. And the sacred shrine supposed to be lost may have been called Corpnou, because it was originally intended for the Corfe or Basket, that is, the Ark of Noah; for in the Hebrew, as well as the English Bible, the basket of bulrushes in which Moses was exposed on the Nile[2], has the same title as the Ark of Noah — Theba. The introduction of Noah's name

[1] Sir H. Piers's Description of Westmeath, p. 74.
[2] Exodus, ii. 3.

in this Celtic term is very singularly borne out by a Welshman's criticism upon a poem, written in his own branch of the same Celtic language. A passage occurs in the praise of Lludd, which he contends is, with trifling alteration, absolute Hebrew. The four lines, represented in English characters, run thus[1]: —

Welsh.	*Hebrew.*
O Brithi Brith oi	Hoi Berithi Berith Chai
Nu oes Nu edi	Nuach iesh Nuach edi
Brithi Brith an hai	Berithi Berith ein Chai
Sych edi edi euroi.	Such edi, edi haroe.

The Hebrew lines he very fairly interprets thus —

> Ho! my covenant is the Covenant of Life.
> Noah — Noah is my witness.
> My covenant is the Covenant of the Fountain of Life:
> The shrine is my witness; the Prophet is my witness.[2]

The word which is here translated a shrine properly signifies a covered dwelling; and the prophet may perhaps better be rendered the seer, in allusion to the Druid or priest, who personated Noah in the Cromlech. The Covenant of Life is an expression which derives all its force from the consideration, that the stay in the Ark, and consequently in the Cromlech, was looked upon as a period of death, to be ended by regeneration into a new life; and this view of the matter was

הוי בריתי בריתחי
נח יש נח עדי
בריתי בריתת עין חי
סך עדי עדי הראה

[2] Roberts's Antiquities of Wales, p. 34.

by no means forgotten by the Celts.[1] In the county of Down, near Drumgoolan, there is a Cromleac shaped like a coffin; and on Crûgmawr, a mountain in Cardiganshire, there is another, which Giraldus Cambrensis calls an open grave; with this remarkable property, that it fits the length of any man lying in it, whether long or short. This circumstance at once declares it to have been a mystic cell. But if it was a Cromlech, why is it open? What is become of the covering stone? All that is satisfactorily explained by tradition; for it is said that a powerful Cawr, or Giant, kept his post once on this hill; and, having invited the neighbouring giants to a trial of strength, he beat them at quoits, by throwing his clear into the Irish Sea.[2]

Now the giant was probably some squire or petty chieftain, who removed the stone for his own use, and, it may be, for the construction of a pier; but the tradition proves that it was there once, and its magnitude seems to have given the mountain its name; for Crug Mawr signifies the Great Stone. A somewhat similar tradition occurs under similar circumstances, in another Arkite region. Upon the shore of Ægina, the tumulus raised by Telamon had upon the top of it a rugged stone, once used by Telamon, and Peleus, as a discus, with which Peleus slew Phocus at a game of quoits.[3] But the translation of Ralph Higden's doggrel rhymes furnishes another important feature of the Welsh probationary cell:—

[1] Miss Beaufort on the Antiquities of Ireland, p. 20.
[2] Roberts's Antiquities of Wales, p. 214.
[3] Pausan. in Corinth. c. 29.

On Craigmawr hill there's a sepulchre;
And whosoever lays his hulk there,
Finds it exactly fit his length,
And if he's tired, recruits his strength.[1]

It appears, therefore, that this grave was not a recipient of death, but a restorer of life: it gave new vigour, new life to the initiated. King Arthur, or whoever it is that passes under that name, was an aspirant to these mystical benefits, and in that way obtained great renown; for many Cromlechs bear his name. In Anglesey we learn from Rowland, that they were called Coetene Arthur, or Arthur's Quoits. The king must have been rich in these quoits; for Bingley numbers no less than twenty-eight of them in that little island. In Llan Beudy parish, in Carmarthenshire, there is a rude stone about ten yards in circumference, and above three feet thick, supported by four pillars, about two and a half feet high: it is called Bwrdd Arthur, or Arthur's Table; and upon a projection of Cwm Bryn, the most noted hill in Gower, a vast unwrought stone, weighing more than twenty tons, and supported by six or seven others, not above four feet high, is called Arthur's Stone, or the Stone of Sketty[2]; and underneath it there is a well. The position of the water gives more propriety to the probable etymology of this word; for, according to

[1] Roberts, p. 11.

[2] Newell's Scenery of Wales, p. 48. An altar, as it was called, was placed over a deep pit in Baaltien, the house of Baal, near Killala, which was approached through an avenue of pillars, four on each side: so, too, over the mouth of each well in Greece a marble cylinder is placed.—*Clarke's Travels*, vi. 338.

Borlase, Sketh is an old Celtic word for a boat[1], and the name of the Cromlech therefore is the stone of the Ark. By this name, indeed, the Welsh Cromlech is distinctly called by the ancient bards; at least, in one instance, Davies refers to an enormous one in the parish of Nevern, and county of Pembroke, that saying of the mythological Triads, that it was a great feat of Gwgawn Lawgadarn, the Severe One with the Mighty Hand, to roll the stone of Maen Arch, *i. e.* of the stone Ark, from the bottom of the valley to the top of the hill. This mighty mass of stone, of which a fragment, that appears to have been broken off, was more than twenty oxen could have drawn, is supported on three large pillars, about eight feet high; besides which, however, there are five others, not high enough to assist in bearing the weight, and which, consequently, could only have been placed there for the sake of inclosing the area beneath, and converting it into a cell.[2] The Cambrian Arkites seem to have been particularly solicitous to preserve that feature of their system, which consists in rolling their sacred rocks to the tops of the hills, and constructing

[1] The Scandinavian Skeid, and Anglo-Saxon Skeith, both mean a species of boat, like the Ked of the Welsh, and Keist of the Irish. Keshti Noah is Noah's Ark, in old Persian. — *Vallancey, Collect. de R. H.* iv. 32.

[2] Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 396. It must have been some such monument once existing at Glastonbury, which gave occasion to the fable, that Glasteing found there a sow with eight legs suckling her young. For Hwch in Welsh signifies a sow, and Cwch a boat; and Mr. Roberts suggests, with great probability, that the Druids would sometimes disguise their mysteries by expressing them in terms sufficiently intelligible to the initiated on account of the resemblance of the sound, but conveying quite a different sense to the common ear. — *Antiq. of Wales*, p. 91.

their sanctuaries in the sides of their Ararats. Thus, on the top of Snowden, the outline of which is admirably calculated to represent the Diluvian Mount, there is a Druidical temple, in which three large stones stand in a triangle. In this case the cover is wanting; but at a little distance from it, there are not only several huge cairns, but cells also formed by large stones fixed in the ground, and each cell covered with one or two stones of superior size.[1] On the summit of Caer Idris, the same superstition has taken a more elegant turn. The inspiration communicated to those who were initiated there was worthy of Parnassus: a stone inclosure is the Cadair, or chair of the mighty magician, in which he who sleeps one night will be endowed with poetic genius.[2] Upon the loftiest of the Hartz Mountains in the kingdom of Hanover, the same belief in the magic power of some vast blocks of granite, has consecrated them with the name of the Sorcerer's Chair: a spring of pure water is called the magic fountain, and the Anemone of the Brocken is distinguished by the name of the Sorcerer's Flower[3]: perhaps the Anemone has been mistaken for the Oxalis, or Shamrock of the Irish[4], which, having a three-headed leaf, is well calculated to be an Arkite emblem. The idol supposed to be worshipped there, was Cortho, a name which may have had its origin in the Caer, that is,

[1] Davies's Celt. Myth. p. 301.
[2] Roberts's Antiq. of Wales, p. 222.
[3] Brewster on Natural Magic, p. 128.
[4] Miss Beaufort observes that the Irish Shamrock is in Arabic Shamrakh, and emblematic of the Persian Triad. — *Essay on Antiq. of Ir.* p. 8.

the oracle, or chair of Thoth, or Thor, the final consonant being dropped, as in the derivation of Fo from Bod. It does not appear that any poetic influences were promised to the neophyte who slumbered in this cell; but there must have been some mysterious expectation of advantage from using a couch, which could deserve no better title than that which has been assigned to a Cromlech, in the parish of Uffington, under the strange corruption of Wayland Smith; for the origin of this name is to be found in two Celtic words, Gwely or Wely-anesmwyth, that is, the uneasy bed[1]; for, so in Cardiganshire, a Kistvaen is called Gwely Taliessin, Taliessin's Bed: and in what light he regarded those cells, we know with certainty from his own works; for in one of his poems he speaks of his holy sanctuary on the surface of the ocean, surrounded by the sea or lake, and assailed by the surges, the inhabitants of which were holy and unpolluted: an ox waits near to draw it out.[2] In another he says, "The inundation will surround us, the chief priests of Ked." Now Ked must needs be the same with the stone of Ketti, the lifting of which was one of the great labours of Britain, and the same with that Kyd, in which Arthur was imprisoned for three nights, in accordance with which two Kistvaens, or Cromlechs, which have given to a parish in Denbighshire the name of Druids' Stones, are traditionally reported to have served the purpose of prisons.[3] King

[1] Roberts's Antiq. of Wales, p. 45.
[2] Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 509.
[3] Ibid. p. 399.

Arthur's motive in submitting to imprisonment in so many different Cromlechs as bear his name, may be illustrated by a passage in Taliessin's "Battle of the Trees," where the bard glories in the number of cells, in which he suffered a similar confinement, in order to attain the high station which he occupied as a seer.[1] "I wandered," says he, "in the earth before I became a proficient in learning; I wandered; I went the circuit; I slept in a hundred islands; through a hundred Caers I toiled." In one of these fanciful imprisonments the mummery seems to have been carried too far for the patience of the King. It is said that he entered a cave, where three gigantic beings dwelled, an old woman, with her son and daughter. Roberts supposes them to be the Celtic deities Ceridwen[2], who, as we have already seen, was a personification of the Ark and her male and female progeny; Avagddu, who may be interpreted the Water-God, from Aw, water, and Duw, God; and Flur, who seems to be the Flora of the Sabines, and the Blanche Fleur of Romance. When Arthur went to

[1] Davies's Celtic Mythology, 545.

Wolff, who travelled through Asia in a missionary character, but especially to convert his own countrymen, the Jews, says that he found a person of whom he was in search just going to perform his devotion to three Fakeers, who were sitting naked in the hole of a rock on the shore of the river Beyah.—*Journal*, p. 319.

[2] In Cardiganshire, on a rising ground, an exceeding vast stone placed on four other very large pillars, about the height of five or six feet, is called Llech y Gowres, the Stone of the Giantess, *i. e.* Ceridwen; and not far from it is another Cromlech, which plainly tells its own origin: it is called Maen y Prenvol, or Stone of the Wooden Ark. In the same county five more Kistvaens are enumerated, and a circular area inclosed with rude pillars.—*Davies's Celtic Mythology*, p. 398.

repose the son laid over him an ox-hide, so heavy, that he could not move under it, but was confined by it till the son came in the morning to take it off; hence, it has been inferred, that he conceived a disgust at the superstition of the Druids, though I cannot see in it more than the usual amount of figurative disguise, in describing the ceremonies usual on such occasions. It is not unlikely, however, that they presumed too much upon their influence, and endeavoured to lay a greater restraint upon his actions than the monarch approved; for the borders of the Menai are said to have been the scenes of contest between him and them. He drove back the Picts to the isles of Loch Lomond, and defeated an army of Irish, who came to their assistance.[1] Both their allies, and the place of their retreat, are an argument that they were Arkites, and probably supporters of the Druids; for it was to a similar stretch of arrogance and ambition, that these were indebted for their expulsion from Scotland. Tremnor, the great grandfather of the celebrated Fingal, had been chosen Vergobretic king by the tribes whom he had led to victory. The Druids ordered him to resign his authority, and a civil war was the consequence, in which a great many of the Druids perished, and those, who escaped, hid themselves in forests and caverns, where, says the Abbé de Tressan, "ils avaient coutume de se retirer pour se livre à leurs meditations[2];" and the Vergobrets, or kings, secured

[1] Antiquities of Wales, p. 100.
[2] Mythologie comparée avec l'Histoire, ii. 309. So Mohammed

to themselves the sole authority. Ossian, therefore, was naturally hostile to the memory of the Druids; and if the poems, which pass for his, were really written by him, we should expect from him just that sort of contemptuous notice of them which we actually find. In the poem of Dargo, he hears the voice of Struthan Dorcha's stream: "In the bosom of its grove is the circle of stones: dim, unfinished forms sigh within their grey locks around it: the sons of the feeble hear the sound, and, trembling, shun the awful shadowy spot; the haunt of ghosts they say is there. But your voices are no terror to the bard, spirits of dark night, pale, wandering around your awful stones! No! I tried the strength of your arm when alive; I lifted my spear in battle against your mighty Dargo."[1]

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is said to have retired from the world one month in every year, to enjoy the luxury of meditation in the caverns of Mount Hira. — *Taylor's Hist. of Mahommedanism.* And an Indian Fakeer shut himself up in a Gowpha, or cell, near Peishore, where he vowed to remain doing penance for a period of twelve years; but when one year had elapsed, the Rajah opened the door of the cell. — *As. Res.* v. 50. So also the Brahmin purifies himself in the mysterious bath and meditates in a cavern. — *Colebrook from the Bagavhat Gaeta. As. Res.* v. 87.

[1] A similar conflict took place in Denmark, which is thus related by Saxo Grammaticus. Frygga, or Freia, the Libera of Scandinavia, robbed the statue of her husband Odin of its gold casing by the assistance of her paramour. Odin, equally grieved by her infidelity and the desecration of his sanctuary, went abroad. Uller, the son of Siöfa, famous for his magic skill, took possession of the church, and called himself Mithodin. He condemned the system of propitiating all the gods by the same sacrifices, and ordered peculiar offerings to each. At the return of Odin he fled to Phäonia (Finland), where he was slain. Odin resumed his dignity, expelled the strange gods introduced in his absence, and the Magi, who threw into the shade the glory of his name. — *Hist. Dan.* lib. i. s. 12. Barth conjectures, that the Magi, who had conquered the giants, were Druids.—

It is remarkable that Cu-thon or C'onn, that is, the Voice of Waves, is said to be the son of Dargo, whom they had sent to the Green Isle, where his fathers rest, supposed to be Iona. Now this has been shown to have been an island of the Arkites; and Dargo reminds us strongly of the Deargh of the Irish, the Dirgha of the Hindoos, and the Argo of the Greeks. It is evident, therefore, that Ossian was at the head of a party successfully opposed to the Druids; and hence it is that there is hardly an instance of a Cromlech being found in Scotland, except in the neighbouring islands, where the Arkite party was more strong. In the Isle of Arran there is a circular temple, in the centre of which a thin broad stone is supported by three others. Maurice calls it an altar[1], and this is a very common mistake. Thus, in describing the two concentric circles in the larger one at Abury, the same author says that one of them had in its centre a cell, or Kebla, formed of three stones, before which lay the altar.[2] Now this is evidently the cover of the Cromlech thrown down: if it had remained in its proper place, its height

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Hertha, p. 99. But I am more disposed to consider these the vanquished party. The uniformity of worship ascribed to Odin, or Woden, and the connection of that name with Buddha, persuade me that he was an Arkite. The gold casing of his statue only implies the great value of the honours paid to the sanctuary; and the Arkites were naturally reputed to be giants, from the vast size of the materials which they employed. Odin was the son of Börr, the son, as his name imports, of Burn, the first man: now as Born means water, it is evident enough who he was. — *Barth's Hertha*, p. 95.

[1] Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vi. 121. [2] Ibid. p. 139.

would have proved that it was no altar. Again, Mallet speaks of altars in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, raised upon a little hill either natural or artificial, three long pieces of rock set upright serving as a basis to a great flat stone, which forms the table of the altar. The acknowledged existence of a pretty large cavity under these altars might have led him to a different conclusion. In Zealand he notices a hill altar surrounded by a double range of stones of prodigious magnitude.[1] The position and accompaniments of these monuments prove them to be Arkite. But there are numerous instances, in which the design of an altar is manifestly impossible. In the island of Hoy a mass of rock thirty-one feet in breadth, and seventeen in depth, has been fashioned like a Cromlech by having two cells excavated in its centre, which would have been a most unnecessary labour, if nothing had been wanted but an altar. Near Lancresse Bay in Guernsey, a monument of this sort is thirty-two feet long; and consists of five flat stones sloping from west to east, the superficial dimensions of which diminish gradually from sixteen feet by ten and a half, to eight by four. They are supported by sixteen others, of which the two highest afford an entrance to the interior, six and a half feet from the ground.[2] It might be thought that all this is not inconsistent with the purpose of

[1] Northern Antiquities, i. 126.

[2] Archæologia, xvii. 255. Another Cromlech near Paradis, called La Pierre du Déhus, which is also on a rising ground, contains a chamber 12 feet square; but its height is only 2½ feet; two others of smaller size are found in the same neighbourhood.

an altar; but the steps which lead down to the chamber thus formed show that the main object of its construction was the sanctuary beneath, and its situation is truly Arkite; for it stands on the top of a hill near the sea, and close by are the remains of two circles of stones, which probably surrounded it. On the opposite side of the bay there was once a very large rocking stone[1], which, till it was destroyed, might be easily rocked by a child. The power of motion given to such large masses might sometimes result from cutting away the base of the stone, in order to produce something like the keel of a boat. For Mr. Rooke says that, having carefully examined above thirty rocking stones, they all plainly appeared to have been formed by art. On Graned Tor in the Peak, on a spot so lofty as to command a very extensive prospect, three great stones are placed one upon another by art, of which the uppermost he con-

[1] In the island of Bornholm Druidical rocking-stones (Druidische Wagsteine) are still to be seen.—*Barth. Ueber der Druiden*, p. 174. Apollonius Rhodius mentions two monuments (Stelæ), which Hercules set up in the island of Tenos, of which one rocked when the north wind blew, and Ptolemy Hephæstion describes a Petra Gigonia that could be moved by a blade of grass: now Gigon, according to Hesychius, was a name of the Egyptian Hercules. These rocking-stones are referred to him, either because he was originally an Arkite, or on account of the gigantic strength, commonly ascribed to those who formed them. Pomponius Mela mentions a sacred rocking-stone in Cyrenaica, which preserves the memory of its original intention by a very singular analogy. When touched by the hand of man the violence of its motion rocks the sands that surround it, like the waves of the sea. — *De Situ Orbis*, lib. i. c. 8. It is commonly supposed that these rocks were intended to awe the ignorant by an effect to all appearance supernatural; but the trick would soon have been discovered. No, the Liath Meisieith, or stone of magic of the Druids, was a representative of the Ark: it was surrounded with boat-like semilunar ornaments. — *Vall. Collect.* p. 4.

cluded to be a rocking-stone; but there was no possibility of getting near enough to make the experiment. An old man told him, that when he was a boy, his grandfather pointing at it said, it had always been called the great altar. Now its inaccessible position clearly shows that it could not have obtained that name from the use to which it was actually applied; but at the bottom of the lowest rock a large stone placed slopingly against it forms a cavity big enough to hold three or four men, and covers an oval rock-basin, measuring four feet one way, and nearly three the other.[1] This is a new form of the Cromlech presenting not an altar, but a sanctuary; which was a very proper appendage to the commemorative altar, and where the purifying waters of the Deluge were not forgotten. Of the same description we may conclude that altar to have been, which Jason, the navigator of Argo, is said to have built to propitiate Rhea[2]: for it was not only an altar, but a mansion formed of well-prepared stones. We meet with a similar combination of characters ascribed to a Cromlech described by Sir W. Ouseley: it stands thirteen feet from the ground, and is fifty feet long; and under it there is a chamber, or passage, four feet high. It is scarcely possible to

[1] Archæologia, xii. 47. On a hill called Dutwood Tor a rock canopy overhangs an augurial seat, and on the top it has three rock basins: a little to the east are three Druidical circles of stones, ix. 210. On another, called Carcliff Rocks, *i. e.* the rock of the Caer, or oracle, there is a rocking-stone, and several rock basins, and a hermitage, that is, a Druidical cell below. Ibid. vol. xii.

[2] Orph. Argonaut. v. 609. If Πειρατιη be a mooring cable, the allusion to a ship is still more direct.

imagine a more inconvenient altar; but the peasants call it the mansion of the fire-worshippers [1], who had indeed generally succeeded in the East to the mansions of the Arkites. The Cromlechs throughout Asia were sacred to Budha [2], to whom animal sacrifices were never offered; and they are invariably constructed with a steep inclination either to the south or the west [3], and consequently could not have been intended for altars. There is one on the Sugar-loaf Hill at Waterford, by the side of a stone pillar, which stands no less than twenty feet from the ground [4], which is much too high for an altar. Borlase makes the same remark upon the Quoit in Cornwall, which is so high that a man on horseback can stand under it; that at Ch'un, in Morvah, he says is so gibbous, that no priest could stand on it, and at Molfra the stone is so thin, that fire would have cracked it. Hence he concludes they were not intended for sacrifice, though ashes found in the neighbourhood, as at Jersey, show that sacrifices have been offered near them; and since he is reluctantly obliged to confess that in searching these monuments he was not fortunate enough to find any bones or urns [4], the discovery

[1] Sir W. Ouseley's Travels in the East, ii. 105.

[2] Those who have travelled in India must have observed three stones, disposed as in a Cromlech in many places. — *Trans. As. Soc.* iii. 76.

[3] Miss Beaufort's Essay on the Antiq. of Ireland, p. 19.

[4] Ibid. p. 22. In Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, mention is made of a Cromlech in Pembrokeshire, which measures 28 feet in height, and 20 feet in circumference; another on the confines of Alsace 36 feet; a third at Poictiers 60 feet, and a fourth at Constantine 97 feet, p. 27. It is strange he should call these altars.

[5] Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 218.

of some bones under one in Ireland proves nothing: it is the exception, and not the rule.

A Cromlech, of such magnitude as to be justly called a Druid's cave, is to be seen three miles from Saumur in France. An oblong block of granite nearly sixty-two feet long and thirty wide, forms the pavement: the walls are at least ten feet high, and consist of four stones. One shuts up the end, and the mouth is nearly closed by another. Two immense masses serve as a roof.[1] It is evident that no one could mistake this for an altar. The Cromlechs in that country seem to be in general on a very large scale; and Mr. Deane observes that they cover a larger piece of ground than those in England, and make a chamber, which he calls sepulchral, without any evidence to support the designation, and sometimes two of great dimensions. And not only is their structure most unequivocally hostile to the notion of an altar (for they have sometimes a series of four, or five, or six tabular stones upon the top), but the traditional belief of their character equally contradicts it: for they are called Fairies' Rocks, Roches aux Fées[2]; which proves that they were regarded by those, amongst whom traditions keep their firmest hold, neither as altars, nor as sepulchres, but as the residence of beings who were superior to ordinary mortals. Nor was the mysterious awe which they attached to Cromlechs confined to those of immense magnitude: even when they were reduced to miniature, super-

[1] Six weeks on the Loire.
[2] Deane's Observations on Dracontia, p. 24.

natural virtues were ascribed to them in the same district; for instance, there is a chapel dedicated to St. Cado, who is very appropriately chosen for the Saint of the Ked, and who is said to have expelled the serpents from the country, which, like the stories of conquest over Typhon, and Midgard, and Apophis, and Hydra, is a truly Arkite tradition. In this chapel there is a Cromlech, consisting as usual of four stones, but only measuring three feet in length, and two in width. Of course, it will not admit the whole body of a man, but superstition is not easily baulked by little difficulties. The devout peasants thrust their heads into the open end, in order to be cured of deafness.[1] But since only those who passed through the door of the Ark obtained the benefits of that extraordinary deliverance, a passage through the commemorative stone, where it has not the structure of a cell, has, in many instances, been deemed essential to the enjoyment of Arkite privileges. Thus at Lanyon, in the parish of Maddern, between two pillars about four feet high, a thin stone standing on its edge has a large hole in the middle, fourteen inches in diameter, through which an intelligent farmer assured Borlase that he had known many persons creep for pains in their back and limbs; and that fanciful parents at certain times of the year drew their young children through it to cure them of the rickets.[2] This stone is called Mên an Tol, the

[1] Deane's Observations on Dracontia, p. 36.

[2] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 169. He mentions also the practice of sleeping on stones on a particular night in order to be cured of lameness, p. 138.

stone with a hole; and generally all stones, through which or under which a passage has been formed, are called in Cornwall Tolmens. Thus at Mên, in the parish of Constantine, there is a vast Tolmen placed on the points of two natural rocks, so that a man may creep under the great one, and between its supporters, through a passage about three feet wide, and as many high.[1]

[1] It is 97 feet in circumference, and 60 across the middle. Ibid. p. 166.

CHAP. XXVI.

PASSAGE THROUGH ROCKS. — REGENERATION IN INDIA, AND IN EGYPTIAN MYSTERIES. — PURIFICATION. — ABLUTION IN GREECE, ROME, NEW HOLLAND, ETRURIA, EGYPT, AND INDIA. — HOLY WATER AND WELLS. — ROCK BASINS AT THE PEAK, HALIFAX, BRIMHAM, INDIA, ARARAT, TABOR. — SANCTIFICATION BY WATER AMONG THE JEWS AND EGYPTIANS, AND IN THE MYSTERIES. — BAPTISM, ZECHARIAH XIV. — SPRINKLING OF BLOOD.

It is a striking proof of the tenacity with which these superstitions maintain their hold through many and many successive generations, when we find that even the light of Christianity has been unable to dissolve the spell among those who profess its faith. A recent traveller, M. Caila, in visiting the churches in the Landes of Gascony, observed several narrow openings in the thickest part of one of the pillars. These were called Vegrines; and persons affected with rheumatism, or paralysis, were made to pass through them that they might be cured.[1] Now since there is no natural connection in these cases between the act and the operation expected from it, it is necessary to look for the source of the superstition in something more remote; in some system of religion which will account for the extraordinary efficacy attributed to a

[1] In the admonitions of St. Eloi in the eighth century, he charges the Christians not to follow the pagan superstitions. Qu'on ne fasse point passer le bétail par un arbre creux ou par un trou de la terre. — *Relig. de Gaules*, p. 71.

cause that not only sets all physics and reason at defiance, but moreover by its bare simplicity should startle even credulity itself. But to the passage through the side of the Ark, recovery of health and renovation of life were very naturally ascribed by the Arkites; and, accordingly, we are assured that devout persons in India pass through perforated stones in order to be regenerated.[1] Heber says that at the extremity of the promontory called Malabar Point in the island of Bombay, he saw the remains of a pagoda, which appears from its situation to have been an Arkite temple, and a hole famous as a place of resort for Hindoo devotees, who believe that by entering it below, and emerging from it above, they are purified from all their sins, and come out regenerate.[2] The same mispersuasion has descended both to Mahommedans and to professors of Christianity. Père Reger, cited by Chateaubriand[3], relates that in the great mosque of Solomon a similar mode of trial is practised by devout Mussulmans. If they can pass between two small columns they are predestinated to the Paradise of Mohammed; and in the Holy Sepulchre, two holes are shewn cut in the rock, and descending into a sort of grotto. The Greek pilgrims go down through the large hole, and come

[1] As. Res. vi. 502. In Ireland there are several of this description. Near Killmelcheder Church in the county of Kerry, there is a stone perforated, like those mentioned by Mr. Wilford in India, through which people passed to be regenerated; and in a corner of the old Church of Aghadoe near Killarney, a stone seven feet long is supported at one end by a smaller one, so as to leave an opening beneath. — *Collect. de Reb. Hibern.* vi. 182.

[2] Heber's Journal, iii. 100.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 376.

up through the small one; in which, if they succeed, they are thought to be in a fit state for heaven.[1] For the same purpose, pilgrims repair to a celebrated cavity in the rocks of Upper India, called the Cow's Belly. The very name connects this spot with Arkite worship; and it is a name not given at random, or without a meaning: for the Hindoos were directed by their teachers to seek for regeneration by inclosing themselves in a golden statue, either of a woman or a cow.[2] They had a great opinion, not of the necessity, but of the utility of regeneration: for the laws of Menu declare, that his second, or divine birth, ensures life to the twice-born, both in this world and hereafter eternally, a life exempt from age and death.[3] Nor was the obligation, which it imposed upon him, of a trifling or ordinary nature. For with various modes of devotion, and with austerities ordained by the law, the whole Veda, which was the Scripture of the Hindoos, must be read by him, who had received the new birth.[4]

It is interesting to observe how the traditional knowledge of that second state of existence, into which, not only the earth itself, but those also who returned to it from their death-like imprisonment in the Ark, may be said to have been born, mingled itself with a consciousness of sin and a longing to be renewed in a more perfect state, although the methods which it suggested for effecting that purpose were only the blunders of natural religion

[1] Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, i. 387.
[2] As. Res. vi. 538.
[3] Sir W. Jones's Works, vii. 135.
[4] Ibid. p. 138.

aiming above its level, and blind to spiritual objects. Of the two modes which have been mentioned as prescribed to the Hindoos, the first is evidently that coarsest notion of a new birth, which occurred to Nicodemus in his conversation with our Lord upon the same subject.[1] The other bears a more direct reference to the Ark, though we must have recourse to Egypt, in order to explain it; but if Sir W. Jones had sufficient warrant for maintaining that the regeneration of the Lama in Thibet was connected with the Apis of Egypt[2], we need not hesitate to resort to the same quarter for the explanation of a similar mystery. The cow in this case, though for obvious reasons the sex is changed, stands upon the same footing in Hindoo mythology as the sacred bull of Siva. Now, the bull Apis was in Egypt the representative of the moon, which was signified by a white crescent, marked upon his right side, and hence he was worshipped as a deity. But the mark which stamped him with this sacred character was not a half-moon, though that would have been quite sufficient to designate the planet. It was absolutely necessary that it should, like the Bari, have the curvature of the moon in her first quarter.[3] When, therefore,

[1] St. John, iii. 4.

[2] Sir W. Jones's Works, iii. 366. Some say that the soul of Osiris transmigrated into the body of Apis; others say that he was inclosed in a wooden cow by Isis. — *Diod. Sic.* lib. i. p. 76. Hence Dionusus is called in the Orphic Hymns Ταυρογενης, and by Plutarch Βουγενης.

[3] Cornibus lunæ crescere incipientis, says Pliny, or, according to Solinus, corniculantis lunæ refert faciem. — *Jul. Sol. Pol.* c. 32. Where Salmasius observes, Solus, quod sciam, Ammianus Apin lunæ, Mnevin soli consecratum sciscit, p. 311.

we find that the Egyptians called the moon the mother of the world[1], we see their meaning by adverting to the crescent-shaped vessel, from which the parents of the post-diluvian world came forth. How far the object really intended by that mark differed from the literal moon in the mind of those who first designed it may be further seen from other ceremonials instituted by the same persons in relation to its bearer. The temples which Apis entered were deemed thenceforward mystic chambers; and his birthday was celebrated at Memphis, by the offering of a golden vessel to the Nile, and by a truce for seven days with the monsters of the deep; and, lastly, when it was time for the regenerated Apis to make his appearance, the old one acted the part of the earth, and was drowned in a sacred fountain.[2] This ceremony exactly resembles that of the Hindoos, who throw their goddess Durga into the sacred waters of the Ganges at the close of the festival of Bhavani.[3] Bishop Heber saw two images taken from a pagoda, and committed to the waters at the end of another festival, and observes that it is a practice not confined to them, but that it is the case with all their idols, except a very few.[4] But Bhavani, being the consort of Siva, who always wears the crescent, and is almost always accompanied by the bull Nanda, the drowning of her image under the name of Durga bears a closer analogy to the treatment of Apis. These considerations may serve to elucidate

[1] Plutarch. De Isid. et Osir. 508.
[2] Julius Solinus Polyhistor. c. 32.
[3] Sir W. Jones's Works, xi. 248. [4] Heber's Journal, ii. 391.

one of the laws of Menu, which otherwise is very obscure. It ordains that a seller of the moon-plant and a navigator of the ocean shall be shunned.[1] They were both too sacred to be violated or profaned, for the ocean was held in very great reverence by the Hindoos, and they attributed to it an extraordinary efficacy in cleansing not only the body but the soul. Brahmins are directed to say in their seasons of meditation, "Waters, mothers of worlds, purify us; cleanse us by the sprinkled fluid, ye who purify through libations; for ye, divine waters, do remove every sin."[2] Hence water in general obtained great importance in their system, not merely for outward purposes, for washing or refreshment, but with a view to a sort of sanctification, and, accordingly, the Gaeta says, "It becomes pure spirits to fortify their virtue in the mysterious baths, and to meditate in caves."[3] But the prayer which the Brahmins are directed to use, shows clearly enough from what source those purifying virtues are supposed to be derived: they are to say, — "May the waters purify the earth, that she, being cleansed, may purify me."[4] He who used, or at least he who prescribed, this prayer, must have grounded his hope of purification upon the fact that the earth had once been purified from the guilt of its former inhabitants by the waters of the Deluge; nor was it only as an instrument of purification that water had its value in their religious system. "The acknowledgment of its sacred relation

[1] Sir W. Jones's Works, vii. 180.
[2] As. Res. v. 360.
[3] Maurice's Indian Antiquities, ii. 226.
[4] As. Res. v. 363.

to former ages was expected to benefit the soul, as if it were in some sort an act of faith;" for it is stated in the same code of laws that mere water offered with faith to the progenitors of men, in vessels of silver, proves the source of incorruption [1]; and though in this instance it is not so specified, yet, since the oblations to the sun were directed to be offered in an Argha, shaped like a boat [2], much more is it reasonable to suppose that the same memorial would not be omitted in the oblations to those progenitors of mankind, who were so much indebted to the Argha for their deliverance.

By following this clue, we may arrive at the true sense of many a legend, which ignorance and folly have since distorted; for instance, the caves of Ellora, although their present magnificence is of no great antiquity, yet were doubtless originally Arkite cells, and so much may be collected from traditions still current in India. Mr. Mallet states, that some of them were the work of the Sewras, who adore the Deity through the mediation of Adnaut, and Parisnaut. Whoever the first of these personages may be, there can be little doubt that Parisnaut is the divinity, or genius, of the Baris. Again a Mahommedan native informed him that they were excavated by Rajah Eel, 900 years before, and this is not an improbable date for the enlargement and adornment of those temples; but a Brahmin, who was more likely to know their ancient history than the Mahommedan, said that they were formed by Eeloo Rajah, 3000 years before the commencement

[1] Sir W. Jones's Works, vii. 186. [2] As. Res. v. 357.

of this Kal Youg; that is to say, 7894 years before that statement was made, which can only mean that they were of an antiquity beyond the records of history; and, accordingly, the occasion on which the tradition alleges that they were constructed, is, as might be expected, altogether mythical. It is thus related: The Rajah was afflicted with maggots; but having built a Koond, or cistern, for the water Sewalye, or Sewalla, he bathed in it, and his whole body was purified; so that looking on the place as holy, he first constructed the temple, called Keylmas, &c. to Bishurma, of whom one of the Puranas says that he dedicated himself to the service of Vishnu, the preserver.[1] From all this we can collect nothing more than an acknowledgment of the purifying efficacy of water, in a sanctuary consecrated to the divinity of the Deluge. The Hindoos maintain, that the Caufirs worship the same deity, because some of their idols are called Shee Mahadeo, and, like Seddasheo, bear a trident; and in one sense it is true. Mahadeo indeed means only a great god, and the trident is borne by the classic god of ocean, as well as by the Hindoo[2]: But their whole system is Arkite at its root: their first idol is Bugeesh, god of the waters; their second is the same under another character; for he is called Maunee, which corresponds to the Man of Ireland, the Minos of Greece, the Munis and Menu of Hindostan: and since he

[1] As. Res. vi. 385. Ibid. p. 506.

[2] So too the coins found at the Tope of Manikyala have a figure not unlike Neptune's trident, which is also to be seen on the stones of Persepolis.—*Burnes's Travels in Bokkara*, iii. 152.

expelled the evil principle out of the world, he represents the man who triumphed over the destroying power of the Deluge. Another idol, Koomye, was placed on a height of such difficult access, that offerings to her could only be made at a distance. A certain Moollah called her the wife of Adam; but since there is another pair, from whom all mankind are equally descended, it was not necessary to go back so far. The reason, however, of my introducing these people at present is to show that they had the same opinion of the purifying power of water, when exercised, not on the human body, but on a pillar stone, representing the original mountain; for at a sacrifice to Imra, whom the tribe named Ts'okooee called, like the idol of the Philistines, Dagun, a stone was set upright about four feet high, and its breadth that of a stout man. This is the Irmtan, or Holy Stone; first water is brought to the person who officiates, with which he washes his hands, and taking some in his right hand, throws it three times through the smoke, or flame, on the Irmtan, saying every time, "Looch!" that is, pure.[1] But to return to the Brahmins: by faith in the use of water, they looked to obtain not only something resembling Christian sanctification, so far as that consists in the purify-

[1] Elphinstone's Account of the kingdom of Kaubul, ii. 432. In another part of the ceremonies the priest says with a loud voice, "He!" and after him three times the worshippers and he say, "He Umuch!" that is, Accept. The 'He' in this case seems to be the same as the Celtic Hu (pronounced He), and the same as the He whose maha alaya, or great abode, was on the Himalaya Mountain. The Kaufirs acknowledge that their idols represent great men of former days, who intercede with God in favour of their worshippers. Ibid.

ing of the soul, but also pardon of their sins; and the two together compose a much better notion of baptismal regeneration, than they can be supposed to have arrived at in any other way than by tradition from the ancient Patriarch, who found grace in the eyes of the Lord, and was allowed to see that fearful baptism of the earth by which it was regenerated, and born anew, and its former sins were washed away.

Abul Fazil tells us that the Brahmin used to begin his ablutions by taking up a little water in his right hand, and saying, "Pardon my offences:" he then throws the water on the ground, and rubs himself all over with earth; for, as in the prayer before cited, the earth is supposed to be purified by the water, and to have acquired the same virtue. He then either dives three times in a river, or else throws water thrice over his body, and rubs himself with his hands. The sprinkling is repeated first thrice, and then seven times.[1] The number seven was reputed by Pythagoras by much the most appropriate to religion; and that is the reason, which Apuleius gives, for the seven-fold submersion which he underwent, when he was initiated into the greater mysteries.[2] It is uncertain whether he had any knowledge of the Sabbath as a divine ordinance; but certainly it was a number very appropriate to the religion of the Arkites, if it were only because it is so often mentioned as a period of time in the history of the Deluge. And if Pytha-

[1] Ayeen Akbery. Maurice In. An. ii. 308.
[2] Apul. ii. Bip. Ed. lib. ii. p. 262.

goras was an Arkite, we can very well account for that injunction which he laid upon his disciples, not only not to eat beans[1], but not to hurt or destroy them, for the bean-pod is shaped like the Egyptian Bari; and since he studied philosophy in Egypt, it would be sacred in his eyes: and hence the author of the Orphic poems earnestly exhorts men to keep their hands off beans, and declares, that if they ventured to eat them, they might as well eat the heads of their parents.[2] Perhaps the doctrine of Metempsychosis, which Pythagoras is supposed to have taught, may have been no more than the Arkite doctrine of regeneration. Ovid's account of it is evidently a poetic fiction.[3] The doctrine itself must be sought for in Egypt, where he learned it; for we have the testimony of Herodotus that it came out of Egypt into Greece. Now the Egyptian doctrine, according to that writer, was this: the soul after death was not to enter another human body, till it had made a circuit through the forms of all the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, which it was calculated would occupy about three thousand years[4]; but no one can believe that such a doctrine as this was seriously taught, nor is there the slightest evidence to prove it. It was plainly a mere inference from the innumerable figures of animals pictured in the

[1] Ceres, is said to have given all other pulse to those who received her hospitably, but not beans. Ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὴ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ἔστιν ἱερὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος. — *Pausan. Arcad.* 639. He understood that it was unlawful to eat them, from some motive of religion, but had no idea why it was unlawful.

[2] Orph. Frag. p. 393.

[3] Metamorph. lib. xv.

[4] Herod. lib. ii. c. 123.

hieroglyphics, as well as the masks[1], composed of the heads of various animals, worn by the priests, who would purposely encourage the popular delusion, in order to veil their real mysteries: and with respect to the Greeks, the intended obscurity would be favoured by the equivocal meaning of the word, by which they denote regeneration. Palingenesia means another life after this, or another mode of living in the present life. It is used in both senses in the New Testament: "In the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory[2]," plainly means in the future life; but when St. Peter speaks of "the washing of regeneration," he speaks of that spiritual change of condition, which takes place at baptism. Accordingly Boeckh maintains that the Palingenesia of the mysteries was the doctrine of the soul's immortality, exhibited in the fables about Ceres and Proserpine, and deduced from the reproductive powers of nature[3]; and, on the other hand, Hoffman shows, by some verses taken from Salmasius, that the Palingenesia of a certain mysterious sacrifice, called the Taurobolium, was purity of life, insured by it through the twenty succeeding years.[4] But whatever doctrines or ceremonies might be subsequently superinduced, both were originally founded on Arkite regeneration. It has been already shown,

[1] In Boutan five of the dancers had masks like the heads of hogs and tigers: the other eight were masked with monstrous gaping beaks. — *Davies on the Rel. and Soc. Inst. of the Inhabitants of Boutan. Transact. of As. Soc.* ii. 511.

[2] Matthew, xix. 28. [3] Prolusio Academica.

[4] Vivere cum speras viginti mundus in annos.
Hoff. Lex. Univers.

that the representations in the mysteries were Arkite; and now some other facts may be added to corroborate that statement. The first step of initiation was to be purified with water; and that not only in the greater mysteries, but also in those smaller mysteries, by which the neophyte was to be prepared for the others; and then being properly qualified by purity, he performed various rigid penances: and his bed was the ground[1], and in a Cromlech, or at least in some cell corresponding to it: for some, we are told, who loved obscurity, celebrated the orgies in hollow Kists[2], videlicet, Kistvaens; and one of their passwords was, "I have crept under the cover of the chamber or cell."[3] Apuleius adds that in these ceremonies the principal priest carried a golden boat, and the same custom was observed by the Buddhists in India.

On some particular occasion the relics of Buddha were placed on a golden boat, or model of a ship, which, having been carried in procession like the Egyptian Bari, was then put into a reservoir of water, prepared below the foundation, or in the centre of the temple. This is the same Nawa, or ship, which is graved upon the Phrabât, or footstep, of Buddha. The Siamese called it Tap, Haut, Hang, or the Golden Ship[4], of which Captain Low

[1] Qui in casto erant exercebant suas χαμευνίας.—*Martinii Lexicon Philologicum ad Mysterium.*

[2] Pars obscura cavis celebrabant orgia cistis.
Catull. Nup. Pal. et Thet. 256.

[3] Ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυον.—*Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes*, i. 14.

[4] It was a golden ship in which, according to Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius, the figure of Ammon was carried by twenty-four priests.

judiciously observes, that it points directly to the Ark of Nuh, or Noah, which, according to Sanscrit records, rested after the Flood on Chaisachan, and on account of which Iswara or Siva is called Argha Nath, Lord of the Ship.[1] The Phrabât itself is placed on a mound by the side of a river, under a pyramidal edifice, and is generally covered with water, which the devotee sprinkles over his body to wash away the stains of sin.[2] With respect to Ceres, she was considered in the procession to Eleusis the mother of Dionusus. The worship of both is said to have been introduced simultaneously into Attica, when the son of Erichthonius reigned there.[3] The Arkite character of this personage has been already shown, and if Ceres was a personification of the Ark[4], the relation between them was correct. A similar combination of worship existed in India; for Dionusus was worshipped on the lesser Meru; and Devi, the goddess who represents Ceres, had a cave there sacred to her.[5] Eratosthenes rejected the stories of Bacchus, and his conquests in India[6], as a fiction of Megasthenes: and if they pretend

[1] Transactions of the Asiatic Society, iii. 105.

[2] Ibid. p. 58. The Siamese term the golden mountain Khan Phra Phuthi Batt, the hill with the holy footstep of Buddha, p. 62. Here then we have Buddha identified with Phut, the son of Ham, by the very same mode of spelling the name as that adopted by Moses. — *Gen.* x. 6.

[3] Apollodor. lib. iii. 113.

[4] Ceres is called Ennæa by Silius Italicus, lib. i.; and by Claudian, lib. i. If I were disposed to play upon words, I might suggest that she here acts the part of Noah's wife, Ann Noa.

[5] As. Res. vi. 501.

[6] Alexander was told that the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Uranus and Dionysus.—*Arrian. Exped.* lib. vii. c. 5. To suppose that the unconquered Arabs would worship the conqueror of India, if he had no claim to their worship but his conquests, is beyond measure absurd.

to be historical facts, he was right. But there was a deeper foundation for them, of which he was not aware; for that the Dionusus of the Greeks and of the Hindoos was one and the same personage originally, the different accounts of Nysa, a town at the foot of Meru, which we have received from the east and from the west, will sufficiently serve to show. The Hindoos say that this Nysa, or as they pronounce it Nausha, was built by order of Deonaush, when he visited the seat of his ancestor Atri on the mountain.[1] Alexander was told that Dionusus called it Nysa, in memory of his nurse, and the mountain, which towered above its walls, was called Meros, to recall the origin of its founder.[2] His informers must have been playing with the credulity, or flattering the vanity, of the Greeks; for their own mythologists acknowledge, that Nyssa was in existence when their Dionusus was brought into the world, and that his nurses were the Hyads, or water nymphs, who lived there.[3] But Nysa was in fact another name for Meru, as well as that of the town; and Hesychius enumerates fifteen hills that bore the same name, and, doubtless, for the same reason — because on all of them Naush, or Noachus, was worshipped. In the mysteries of Dionusus a strange tragedy was enacted[4]; for he was torn to pieces by the Titans — a punishment, indeed, which he well deserved for allowing himself to be worshipped as Bacchus, the puerile patron of vintners and drunkenness. But

[1] As. Res. vi. 501. [2] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. lib. i. c. 1.
[3] Apollodor. lib. iii. p. 93.
[4] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 15.

whatever might be the meaning of this figment, it is curious that his remains, like those of Buddha, were placed in a vessel, and were finally deposited on Mount Parnassus, the mountain on which Deucalion, the Grecian Noah, landed after the Deluge, and on which a tradition, derided by Dr. Clarke, who did not understand it, is still extant, that a city called Thiva or Thebes, that is to say, the Ark, situated at the root of the mountain, where the Cachales falls into the Cephissus, had been destroyed by an inundation of the former stream, which is interpreted by them, "The evil torrent."[1] The belief in the destructive power of the evil torrent, above which the Diluvian Mountain rears its triple head, and in the former existence of a Thebah there, notwithstanding the erroneous conclusion to which they were led, in consequence of no traces of it remaining, that the evil torrent had destroyed it, is no small argument that the Arkite character, which is still discernible in the traditions of the natives, may go far to explain the mystic sepulture of Dionusus on that mountain. If he were the creature of classic mythology, we might have wondered at finding him so far to the east, where that mythology was entirely unknown; but greater still would be our astonishment to find him also in the extreme west of Europe. And yet Dionysius, the geographer, says, that in the Western Islands, the wives of the Ammonians from the opposite coast celebrated the worship of Dionusus with as much fervour as the Thracians.[2] It seems, that it was

[1] Clarke's Travels, vii. 273.
[2] Tighe in Collect. de Reb. Hib. vi. 164.

necessary to resort to islands for that purpose; and the identity of worship probably consisted, not so much in the adoption of the name, as in the use of Cromlechs and ablutions, similar to the celebration of the mysteries.

2dly. The Taurobolium was a sacrifice offered to the Magna Mater — to that mother of the gods (namely, of the progenitors of mankind, who were worshipped as gods), whose priests, and temples, and shrines, and altars were the things which all antiquity, the Persians, the Syrians, and all who bore rule in Europe or Asia, regarded with the most religious reverence.[1] Now the mother, of whom Noah and his family were born again into the post-diluvian world, was the Ark; and it will be found, upon further inquiry, that the Taurobolium had a marked reference to that period. Two of the personages most conspicuous in classic mythology had the surname of Taurobolos — Minerva and Diana[2]: the image of the former was purified at a festival called Plynteria, when the Praxiergidæ, who disrobed it and covered it up again, performed the ceremonies which might not be revealed; and the temples were encompassed by a cord, while the statue was washed, to denote that they were shut up, the day being inauspicious; and all business was suspended.[3] The image of Diana was treated in the same way, and it was under pretence of that ceremony that Iphigenia was enabled to carry it away from Tauris. She pretended that, for the

[1] Cicero de Arusp. Respons.
[2] Suidas.
[3] Plutarch. in Vit. Alcibiadis.

purpose of expiation, it was necessary that the statue should be bathed in water; and the attendants were directed to stand at a distance, and to look another way, that they might not see the mysteries which were not to be revealed; but the reason which she gives for preferring sea-water to any other is most remarkable: "The sea washes away all the sins of mankind."[1] It is evident, that though the name of the idol was different, the subject of the mysteries in both cases was the same; of which the poet seems to have been conscious, when he makes Minerva order the statue to be conveyed to her own city, and give it the same name which she herself bore; namely, Tauropolos.[2] The history of these ablutions is only to be explained by comparing them with the

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.
Eurip. Iphigen. in Taur, v. 1201.

[2] Ibid. 1469. Ister in the third book of his Atactæ, or Miscellanies, says that Diana was called Tauropolos, because she drove the bull, sent by Neptune against Hippolytus, over the whole earth. But others say she killed him. Now the father of Hippolytus was Theseus, and his mother Hippolyte, the Amazon, of whom Clidemus reports that she died fighting by the side of Theseus against the Amazons, and that a pillar was raised over her grave by the temple of the Olympian earth. — *Plutarch's Life of Theseus.* But Ovid's account is that Theseus killed her.—*Heroid. Epist.* iv. 119. From all this I infer that he at one time joined himself to those worshippers of the moon, who had forgotten the origin of that worship; but afterwards, repenting of his apostacy, for which he is represented doing penance in the infernal regions, he banished and persecuted them; and they in return wreaked their vengeance upon their persecutors, wherever they could. To suppose that the pillar really marked her grave, would be to convert an arrant fiction into historical truth. Its site sufficiently marks its meaning. I imagine that the Amazons were worshippers of the moon, because they are said to have borne crescent-shaped shields (*Virg. Æn.* i. 494.), and because Plutarch relates their defeat by Dionusus in the island of Samos. — *Hell. Quæst.* p. 46.

bathing of Hertha and the Pessinuntian Stone. They represented the central rock of the world, the mountain of the Ark, which again in its turn represented the earth. Now if the statues were the images of deified persons, it is impossible to imagine any motive for those frequent purifications; it is impossible to understand what hope of benefit could be entertained from immersing their persons in water. But if, on the other hand, they were only the various forms, which the art of sculpture had devised to adorn those shapeless masses of stone, which were the original emblems of the Diluvian Mount, then the repetition of that baptism, which had cleansed the earth from its former stains of sin, was a natural and significant ceremony, whenever the expiation of guilt was the object in contemplation. With this view Electra is represented pouring an expiatory libation of water upon the earth[1]; and with this view expiatory rites were practised by the Romans in the month of February, which derives its name from that circumstance.[2] The beginning of the month was selected with great propriety for the purpose, because it was under the sign of Aquarius, the Pourer of Water, and it was the last month of the old Roman year, and consequently the month in which the purification of the earth was completed. People purified themselves with water: houses, temples, whole cities were sprinkled with holy water; and this was

[1] Æschyl. Coephor v. 95.

[2] From the Sabine word Februum, Purification, came Februarius quod tum extremo mense anni populus februaretur, *i. e.* lustraretur. — *Varro, de L. L. V. S.* p. 54.

done, says a German author, for the expiation of sin and for regeneration.[1] Ovid, indeed, distinctly tells us, in explanation of the February lustrations, that ablution was supposed by their ancestors to take away every crime, and every cause of evil.[2] The practice and the opinion came to them from Greece, where Deucalion, the representative of the Grecian Arkites, is said by an evident anachronism to have sprinkled his head and clothes with water, just at the time when in his character of the Patriarch he landed on the mountain.[3] But it is not an uncommon thing in mythology to confound the act of commemoration with the thing commemorated. In New Holland, where some of the natives have retained a lively tradition of the Deluge, a deluge which covered the tops of the Blue Mountains, and from which two persons only escaped in a Kobou Noe, or large ship, a circumstance occurred, which furnishes an exact parallel to the act related of Deucalion: one of these natives had dreamed, that a spear being thrust through his body, he died: in great alarm he went to the missionary, and begged a little water; he poured the whole over his head, and was afterwards thrown into a stream by order of a sorcerer, in order to be thoroughly washed.[4]

1 Solches geschah zur Straflosigkeit der Sünden und Wiedergeburt. — *Karl Barth's Hertha*, p. 153.

2 Omne nefas, omnemque mali purgamina causam
Credebant nostri tollere posse senes.
Græcia principium moris fuit. Illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat. —*Ovid. Fast.* ii. 35.

3 Ovid's Metamorph. i. 371.

4 Tyermann and Bennett's Journal of Voyages in the South Sea,

Some saving or regenerating efficacy, therefore, was ascribed by these people to baptism and immersion in water. Instances of the same kind occur in the classic writers. Circe terrified by a dream has recourse to ablution [1]; and the sister of Dido, under the same circumstances, purifies herself in a running stream.[2] Persius represents repeated immersions in the Tiber as a preparation for prayer[3]; and Juvenal ridicules the superstition of the Roman ladies, who thought that similar practices would expiate the sins of a whole year, and avert all threatened dangers, and in that hope would break the winter ice to plunge into the Tyber, and venture into its fiercest torrent.[4] Gorius observes, from the testimony of Etruscan drawings, that baptism existed in that country many centuries before Numa Pompilius[5]; and since it has been shown that they were an Arkite people the source of that custom is obvious enough. If then the mysteries were, as I contend they were, Arkite ceremonies, we might reasonably expect to find them retaining the same custom. Not only, however, was the custom itself observed, but the very objects which gave it its whole importance, were steadily kept in view. From the destruction of

ii. 156. and 176. One of their gods is said to have been changed into a canoe, the natural inference for an ignorant idolater from observing the reverence with which the type of the primæval ship was regarded.

[1] Apollon. Argon. iv. 663. [2] Silius Ital. viii. 124.

[3] Pers. Sat. ii. 15. So also Telemachus, Hom. Od. B. 261. In Clem. Alex. Str. iv. 628. Alcestes in Eurip. Alcest. 157. Hector in Hom. Il. vi. 266. Turnus in Virg. Æn. ix. 22.

[4] Juven. Sat. vi. 520. [5] Musei Etrusci, tab. CLXX. p. 331.

sin, which it commemorated, and the regeneration of the world after the Flood, a hope arose, that sin might be expiated by water, and an obligation on the part of the initiated to a moral regeneration was inferred. Immersion in water after confession of sin was a symbol that the now purified man renounced the paths of error; and Tertullian observes that in his time nations, that were quite strangers to all understanding of spiritual things, attributed to their mysteries a power of working the same effects as Christian baptism.[1] In the Apollinarian and Eleusinian games they were sprinkled with water; in the rites of Isis and of Mithra they were initiated by immersion; and "by these means they presume they shall obtain regeneration, and impunity for their perjuries."[2] And in another place he indignantly exclaims that the devil promises his followers expiation of sin by baptism, and exhibits to them an image of the resurrection from the dead.[3] According to a German writer, a great admirer of Manicheeism, one of the mysteries taught by Manes, who secluded himself in a cavern for a whole preparatory year, as if emulous of the Patriarch's seclusion in the Ark, was this:—that the world is an ocean, on which the soul is ever wandering, till brought by the preserving ship to the happy shores of the kingdom of eternal light.[4] This truly ancient opinion, says the perverse Maniac, lies at the foundation of many old sayings, but especially of the Bible tradition of a

[1] Karl Barth's Hertha, p. 160. [2] Tertull. de Baptismo, c. 11.
[3] Ibid. de Præscript. Hæret. c. 40. De Spectaculis, c. 23.
[4] Das Manachaische Religions-System, von Dr. F. C. Bauer.

destroying flood, and a preserving Ark. The Christian reader will see that the facts are here exactly inverted, and the notion of purification and preservation by a ship was the natural consequence of the tradition of a deluge, which destroyed the sinners and preserved the just.

That Isis, therefore, the lady of the boat, should have rites connected with her expressive of the corruption removed from the earth by water, is nothing wonderful; and we may well believe, that in the mysteries of Mithra a resurrection from a state of sin and death to a life of hope and greater purity was propounded, when we have this additional testimony to their intention. In the rites of Mithra, says Maurice, a serpent was thrown into the bosom of the candidate, in token of his having cast off the vestments of earthly impurity, in the same manner as that reptile changes its skin, and renews its vigour.[1] The very term initiation is nearly equivalent to regeneration; for it is truly observed by a writer, whose authority is not often pressed into the service of theology, that every form of worship had its mysteries and its initiated members, and "Chaque secte exigeait de nouvelles vertus, et recommendait à ses penitens une nouvelle vie — initium novæ vitæ — et de-là le mot initiation."[2] The same writer remarks that there were great reservoirs of water underneath the

[1] Maurice's Indian Antiq. iii. 207.

[2] Voltaire in Encyclopedie, art. Baptême. At Biban El Molook in Egypt many of the subjects drawn, and supposed to represent human sacrifices, probably refer to initiation into the higher mysteries by the supposed death and regeneration of the Neophyte. — *Wilkinson's Thebes*, p. 109.

Egyptian temples for the use of the initiated, and that the Christian Catechumens were not called initiated, that is, regenerated, till they were baptised. The efficacy of baptism to any moral good is indeed a notion which he repudiates with the utmost vehemence, although he is obliged to acknowledge that a belief in its power of expiation had existed from the first establishment of religion. But not perceiving in what way the mysterious use of it was a memorial of the abhorrence with which God regarded sin, and of the chastisement which he inflicted on the earth in consequence, he inveighs most bitterly against that excess of madness and absurdity, which could imagine that what washes the body can wash the soul, and take away the stain of wicked actions; for "what relation," he exclaims, "can there be between a murder and the water of the Ganges, or how can a man repair a homicide by bathing?"[1] There are but two modes in which the use of water can be attended with any moral or spiritual advantage. In the first place, some efficacy may be annexed to it by the absolute promise of God, to be shared by all who seek it in the form directed by himself; for who shall prescribe to the Almighty the measure of grace which he may choose to impart to his own ordinances? And this is the case in Christian Baptism; but before that Sacrament was ordained by Christ himself, no spiritual grace could flow from mere material water. Yet it might have a considerable moral use, if it were a permitted symbol of that regeneration,

[1] Voltaire. Encyclopédie. Art. Expiation.

which all, who reflected upon the past dispensations of God in his government of the world, were taught to desire as a most necessary remedy of their sinful and lost condition.[1] In this point of view the regeneration of the earth by the Deluge was a valuable doctrine, inasmuch as it served to keep alive such sentiments among various scattered portions of mankind. If all allusion to past or future expiation, typical or actual, were to be left out of consideration, Voltaire's invective would be in great measure justified. Water indeed might at all times have been selected as a symbol of purification, in the same way as the white garment was adopted as an emblem of purity in those who were baptised. But neither the one nor the other could in themselves have suggested the idea of a new state of existence, from which sin was removed by expiation; and the different estimation in which the two symbols have been held sufficiently points out that the one was merely conventional, an analogy observed by contemplative minds, which had no hold upon the multitude; while the other was inseparably connected with some high and holy mystery.

In almost all the nations of the ancient world, of which the customs are known before the Christian

[1] Near Teano in Italy a custom prevailed, which as it was abolished by the bishop, must have been supposed to have had a heathen origin; for otherwise it was innocent enough; and in that case, it is a valuable proof to show how much the notion of regeneration was connected in the minds of the natives with the ceremony of immersion in water. It was usual to plunge children into a spring, called La Fonte delle Creature, who were then deprived of their old dress, and clothed in new. — *Sir R. C. Hoare's Tour in Italy*, i. 264. It intimated that they were to be new creatures.

dispensation, water was intimately associated with religion.[1] The Egyptians sacrificed to water[2]; the Persians did the same[3]; the Hindoos offered oblations of water to the dead, as a sacred bond of union; and so late as in the year 1754, the Peishwa Ballajee Bajee Rao left his army of Mahrattas, to go on a pilgrimage to the source of the Godavery, where the waters of the Ganges are supposed to emerge every thirteenth year, and where many thousands of Hindoo devotees repair for the purpose of bathing in the sacred stream.[4] Maximus Tyrius says that the Lacedæmonians honoured the Eurotas in obedience to an express law[5], and the Athenians the Ilissus; and not only the great rivers, such as the Nile in Egypt, and the Danube among the Scythians, but the smaller too were sacred—the Peneus in Thessaly, the Achelous in Ætolia; and at the source of the Clitumnus in Umbria, there was an ancient temple, round which chapels were spread in great abundance, and each of them had a statue of the River God.[6] But not only

[1] I confine my argument to evidence preceding the Christian dispensation, because it is not easy to say, how far even savages may have borrowed some of their ideas from accidental intercourse with Christians. Were it not for this the baptism practised by the New Zealanders must be considered very curious. At the age of five or eight days the infant is carried to the side of a stream, and delivered to a priest, who holds it for a few minutes before a notched stick placed in the ground, and then either dips it in the water, or sprinkles it: a name is given, and he mumbles something over it, which none of the bystanders comprehend. — *Yates's New Zealand*, p. 82.

[2] Lucian. Jup. Trag. ii. 223.

[3] Herodot. lib. i. c. 131. [4] Duff's Hist. of Mahrattas, ii. 73.

[5] Chateaubriand mentions the two pointed peaks of the Spartan mountain Taygetus, i. 86., which would make it a good representative of Ararat.

[6] Plin. Epist. ad Rom. lib. viii. Abbé Banier, ii. 284.

rivers, but all springs and large bodies of standing water, were esteemed holy among the Romans, and honoured with religious ceremonies.[1] In France[2], the river Seine partook of divine honours, if we may trust the derivation of a French antiquary, who asserts that Greek and Celtic being sister languages, the city of Paris obtained its name because it was Para Isidos, près d'Isis; and to confirm his conjecture, he remarks that a ship has been from time immemorial the arms and symbol of the city[3]; whereupon Colonel Todd observes that "the Ark, symbolic of this divinity, characterised her rites among the Celtic and Teutonic races, as much as with the Egyptians and Hindoos. The Celtic Parisii adored the goddess under the form of a boat, as did the Suevi and other tribes of the north; all tending to support the hypothesis that this worship is a memento of that grand catastrophe which befel the human race, and the subsequent preservation of the species."[4] The same writer deduces the same conclusions from the 4000 terra-cotta figures of Isis, dug up from the precincts of her fane at Pæstum. In them she holds a serpent in one hand and a Crux ansata in the other. I differ from him

[1] Senec. Epist. 41.

[2] At the present day fountains, lakes, and rivers, are still in some degree the objects of veneration in the provinces near the Pyrenees, and the inhabitants throw into their waters pieces of silver, of food, and of raiment. — *Murray's Summer in the Pyrenees,* ii. 169. In the same way, near the temple of Jaggernaut in India, there is an artificial lake of water, into which the devotees cast gold, and silver, and precious stones, in honour of their idol.—*Lardner's Geog.* p. 324.

[3] Dissertation sur Belenus, p. 25. prefixed to Recherches Historiques sur Falaise.

[4] Transactions of the Asiatic Society, ii. 567.

in his interpretation of the latter symbol: for the Crux, without the handle, is precisely that mystic Thau, or sign T, which Deane suggests, with great probability, may be the Petra, or Diluvian Mountain covered with the Deluge.[1] But on the whole, we are perfectly agreed that both are emblems of that catastrophe alluded to in the Egyptian fable of Isis and Osiris, and the preservation of the species from Typhon, the destructive power typified in the serpent. After all the evidence that has been adduced on this subject, the question need not be argued again; yet it may be noticed, that, as far as the authority of Montfauçon goes, it derives some support from his acknowledgment that Isis and Osiris were not only the principal divinities of paganism[2], but also the father and mother of the world.[3] In England, the rivers Isis and Ouse, and perhaps some others, a little more corrupted from the true orthography, have been deified under the name of the same universal mother. But the religious importance which the English Arkites attached to the use of water, is most strongly testified by the solicitude they have shown to introduce it, wherever their religious monuments have been con-

[1] On the Worship of the Serpent, p. 179. The form of the Samaritan Thau is ⋋. — *Trans. As. Soc.* iii. 159. Is not this the ship upon the mountain?

[2] Heeren observes, that the only temples in Egypt at first were those of Ammon, Osiris, Isis, and Typhon.—*Reflections on Africa*, ii. 128.

[3] L'Univers — if he had said mankind it would have been better. But he rejects, with great reason, the philosophical theory, which makes them the sun and moon; because the discordant and inconsistent systems of the philosophers themselves show that they were only devised to palliate, by some colour of reason, the monstrous follies of the popular idolatry, iv. 275.

structed: caverns were excavated or converted into sanctuaries in those situations where large supplies of water could be most easily obtained. To this class, we may refer the cave of Pendeen Vau, in Cornwall, which is certainly artificial, for it is walled with large stones: but it was not used for interment; for the soil, when examined, was found to be natural and had never been moved; and it could not have been intended for habitation, since it consisted only of a low and narrow gallery, branching out at the end to the right and left; and Norden tells us, in his "Survey of Cornwall," that the sea flowed into it at high tide: that is no longer the case, for the sea has receded from it a quarter of a mile:[1] but while it did reach the cave, it presented every day a very lively image of the overflowing of the earth, and the subsequent abatement of the waters. At a distance from the sea, fresh water supplied its place: On the western side of Carnbre Hill, — on which several groups of large upright stones, and the Cairn of the Bari, from which it takes its name, demonstrate its Arkite character, — there is a cave, the bottom of which is full of water[2]; and the faith which our ancestors had in the sanative efficacy of water in such sacred places, has not been wholly erased from the minds of their Christianised descendants. In the parish of Altarnun, which contains on the moors, near Launceston, some circles of Druidical stones, it was the custom

[1] Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 274.

[2] Ibid. p. 117. And among other artificial basins, there is one of very large size in a flat orbicular stone. — *Camden's Brit.*

to carry those whose minds were disordered to a pool, filled with water from St. Nun's Well, where they were tossed up and down till they were quite exhausted; they were then carried to the church, and masses were sung over them; but if not cured, the immersion was repeated.[1] I myself have seen a poor maniac at Inverary, in Scotland, about to be conveyed for a similar purpose to a Loch among the mountains, but with this difference, that, after being almost drowned, he was to be left naked and bound during the night in a chapel which stood by the water side. It would seem to be a better receipt for driving a man out of his senses than for restoring them when lost; but, like the use of holy water in Roman Catholic churches, it is an evident remnant of that confidence in the mysterious virtues of water, which first originated in the expurgation of the earth.

A writer in the Christian Examiner has recorded many instances of the same sort,—instances of extraordinary influence and sanctity attributed to water, by the ignorant Irish, in the province of Connaught. "Near the Abbey of Ballinsmalley, a lake, called Lough Bannaher, is deemed peculiarly sacred, having been once dedicated to the Arkite worship of the great mother of Paganism, and now to the kindred veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Diseased cattle, driven into this lake, are imagined to receive an immediate cure; and the human patient is likewise supposed to receive not only corporeal but spiritual health.[2]

[1] Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 302.

[2] The fish in this lake are considered so sacred, that it would be

On the south declivity of Abbey Knochruagh, the Hill of Victory, there is a well at which the afflicted attend for the recovery of their health, either by themselves or their proxies, and they who have sick cattle come hither to obtain their restoration. At Ballyhane there is a well of great virtue resorted to by votaries, in fulfilment of vows for the recovery of relatives from sickness, or danger. Lastly (for though there are many more, they are not of the same importance), Patrick's well, adjoining the round tower of Turlough, has a small entrance by which one person can enter at a time, and wash away all those stains of sin, which Sacred Scripture has taught us can only be cleansed in that fountain, which Jehovah himself has opened upon Calvary for sin and for uncleanness."[1] A similar superstition prevails, or at least did prevail, in Cornwall, in the time of Borlase, who assures us that "there is scarcely a parish well which is not frequented by the vulgar Cornish, at some particular times, for information whether they shall be fortunate, or unfortunate:"[2] so that it seems these wells are still haunted by the ghosts of the oracles, which used to be consulted at the Arkite shrines. Near Halifax, in Yorkshire, there is a spring called Boothdean Spaw, in which the name of Budha, or Boodh, as it is sometimes written, may be distinctly

impious to take them; and a well in the county of Galway contains some holy fish, one of which named after the apostle of Ireland is held in particular reverence. These are the legitimate representatives of Dagon, the Fish God, p. 22.

[1] Christ. Exam. vol. viii. No. 43.

[2] Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 241.

recognised. It is much esteemed by the country people, and has been a good deal resorted to, though it is remarkable for no one good quality; but the antiquary, who describes it, proceeds to remark that, from its vicinity to the Rocking Stone, (the uppermost of a group of rocks piled one upon another, which tradition says had once the property of motion,) he concludes that it was consecrated by the Druids, and, being once held sacred, the remembrance thereof is not yet quite obliterated.[1] The only error of this statement lies in the supposition that it was consecrated by the Druids, whereas the consecration was of a much earlier date than the Druids, who are accused by Deane of being the first deviators from the faith of Noah: "But the purer the Druidism, the nearer the truth."[2] But although in many instances the Arkite cell might be constructed most conveniently by the side of water, yet, when that other element of their religious system, the Diluvian Mount, was to be added, it was a matter of more difficulty to combine the two; for it rarely happens that a spring is to be found on the top of a hill: nevertheless, in the opinion of the Druids, or of their predecessors in the Arkite priesthood, water was deemed so essential to the mysteries of regeneration, that they took great pains to secure a supply of it in the best way they could; and for this purpose they excavated basins upon the surface of the rocks in their high places to contain it. Dr. Borlase says that there is hardly

[1] Archæolog. ii. 357. Two large stones in the same place are called the Bride Stones; perhaps from Barides.

[2] On the Worship of the Serpent, p. 257.

any considerable group of rocks in Cornwall which has not rock basins; and they are generally found on the highest hills, and on the tops of the most conspicuous Karns.[1] Some of them have one part of their hollow made more circular than the rest, forming a round recess, as if it were to receive the head, and the other part the body of some human creature. In the smaller kind, he conjectures, they used to lay children—in the larger, men for particular disorders, that, by the healing virtue attributed to the god, who inhabited the rock, they might be cured of their ailments, or consecrated to the service of the Rock Deity.[2] Some of the most remarkable instances which he enumerates are as follows:—Below the highest part of a vast crag called Sharpy Tor, which from its conical figure must have attracted the notice of the Druids, there are three rock basins, besides one on a contiguous rock lower down.[3] In the village of Mên there is a stone somewhat resembling a cup, eleven feet high; in St. Mary, Scilly, there is another, cut much into the same form, with thirteen basins on its surface, to hold the holy water; on the Wringcheese, thirty-two feet high, there are two such basins.[4] At Boscawen Ros, they are to be seen under the brow of a hill, the top of which was crowned with a Druidical circle, while its sides exhibited the other

[1] Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 227. [2] Ibid. p. 241.

[3] Ibid. p. 132. So also there are three large troughs or rock basins neatly cut out on the flat surface of a granite rock at Axum in Abyssinia, out of which, tradition says, that a great snake, the presiding genius of the Flood, who resided in the hollow of the mountain, used to eat. — *Nath. Pearce's Life and Adventures.*

[4] Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 165.

apparatus of Arkite worship—sacred obelisks, a Karn, and a Cromlech, formed by a large flat stone, resting at one end upon three more, and at the other upon the Karn, so as to afford a passage beneath it.[1] In Bosworlas, a circular basin, six feet in diameter, is called the Giant's Chair. In the great rock at Bosavarn, another goes by the same name; and on a rocky Tor round Arthur's bed, in the parish of North-hill, there are many basins, which the country people call Arthur's troughs[2]; a clear proof of the unknown antiquity ascribed to them by popular opinion. In other parts of England, too, they are found in similar situations. Near Warton Crag, a conical hill in Lancashire, innumerable basins appear in the rocks, some of which are rocking-stones, where Mr. Hutchinson thinks it probable that lustrations were anciently performed.[3] Mr. Rooke gives a sketch of three hills at the south end of Stanton Moor, in Derbyshire, called, 1. Rowter Rocks, 2. Bradley Rocks, 3. Carcliff Rocks, where he enumerates circular temples, caves, rocking-stones, rock-idols, cairns, and rock-basins, which, he says, are not to be found but on rocks that stand on hills, and in the neighbourhood of Druidical remains.[4] The outlines of these hills form two Baris, or crescents. On Graned Tor in the Peak, a rock, twenty-nine feet in circumference, which appears to have fallen from a group called the Great Altar, has four basins excavated on its surface.[5]

[1] Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 179.
[2] Ibid. p. 227.
[3] Archæol. ix. 215.
[4] Ibid. vi. 115.
[5] Ibid. xii. 47.

In another part of the Peak there is a group of rocks called Higgar Tor, among which one, which measures twenty-nine feet in circumference, is a rocking-stone, and another has a rock basin upon it. At the distance of three hundred yards from this group upon the top of a hill, precipitous all round except at the north end, the area is covered with large stones, several of which are rocking-stones, and others have rock basins; but the most remarkable among them is one which, beyond all doubt, is a Bari. It is thirteen feet and a half in length, and a boat-like appearance has been given to it by curving it upwards at both ends. It hangs over a precipice on the eastern side, and is supported by two small stones, which "plainly appear to have been fixed there by art." On the top of it there is an excavation, which answers the double purpose of a rock basin, and of giving it more the aspect of a boat. It is called Cairns work.[1] This is by no means a solitary instance of a Druidical Bari. A large Logan stone, on Golear hill, in Holestone Moor near Halifax, exhibits in one point of view the appearance of a boat resting on its keel[2]; and the surface, in like manner, is hollowed out into a rock basin. Again, on Brimham Moor, near Pateley Bridge, rocks are, or were to be seen, which have been so shaped as to appear keeled and boat-like: and they are accompanied by other Arkite monuments, which leave no doubt of the religious system to which they belonged; for an antiquary,

[1] Mr. Rooke in Archæolog. vii. 176.
[2] Drawn by Mr. Watson. Archæol. ii. 357.

to whom we are much indebted for information in these matters, observed in the same locality—1. Two rock idols, on which the marks of the tool are visible, — one of them, which is forty-six feet in circumference, rests upon a small pedestal; 2. Five or six rocking-stones, three of which moved with great ease, and one is calculated to weigh 100 tons; 3. Three Tolmens, one of them with an aperture through which a man might pass, and a rock basin at each entrance: in another the passage was three feet and a half across, and contained a rock basin three feet in diameter. The excavation in the third is little more than three feet square at the entrance, and runs in a straight direction no more than six feet; but on the right hand side, a round hole, two feet only in diameter, is perforated quite through the rock to the length of sixteen feet. And from this form it has obtained the name of the great cannon. A road has been made over a bed of rock on purpose to reach it, and the whole rock is ninety-six feet in circumference. Lastly, he describes an assemblage of rocks, which seems to have been a chosen spot for religious ceremonies: here, says he, we find rock idols, altars, circular holes, evidently cut in the sides of the rocks, and passages between rocks for some sacred mysterious purpose.[1] It is not at all impossible that the name which these rocks bear may have had its origin in the East: for the followers of Brahma, or Brimha, observe the same rites, and their sanctuaries are furnished with the same provision for lustrations.

[1] Mr. Rooke, in Archæolog. viii. 209.

For the Brahmins at almost all their festivals make use of jars containing holy water, with which they sprinkle or bathe the persons who resort to them[1]; and a monument near Kimoor Gaut bears a very strong resemblance to those of the Celts, which have been described. On the top of a pointed hill, near the river Soare, three large rocks inclose a kind of cell, in front of which a cavity is filled with water: and lest it should be supposed that the resemblance in this case is wholly fortuitous, and unconnected with the mysteries of the Celts, it is further to be observed, that the cell was said to be the residence of a three-fold divinity.[2] The repeated occurrence of that favourite number three may fairly be ascribed to the threefold branches of the Noachidæ and hence perhaps arose the custom, which Menander ridicules, of seeking the cure of diseases by washing the patient with the water of three fountains.[3] It has been already shown that a similar virtue was attributed by the Celtic Arkites to water contained in rock basins; and even at the present day, or at least at the time when Roberts published his work upon the Antiquities of Wales, he assures us that the peasants of that country had an idea, that the rain water, which lodges in the cavities on the surface of Cromlechs, have a medicinal virtue, particularly for the relief of sore eyes.[4] But the most remarkable specimen of a rock basin

[1] Moor's Hindoo Pantheon, p. 401.

[2] Ram, Litchmun, and Seeta; perhaps it should be read Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva. — *As. Res.* vii. 60.

[3] Clem. Alexan. Stromat. vii. c. iv. p. 845.

[4] Antiq. of Wales, p. 28.

is one which still exists on Ararat itself. It is near a convent, said to have been founded by St. James in his search for some fruit trees that had been in the Ark. In ascending the mountain to the spot where they had been planted, his progress was stopped by an immense rock: and there he is said to have consecrated a house of prayer, round which the monks afterwards established themselves; but it is probable, that there had been from time immemorial a sanctuary there, to which the rock basin was the usual appendage, for the water is invested with marvellous and salutiferous attributes: it never dries up, although nobody is able to explain how it gets there; and the people use it as a remedy against locusts, and affirm that the fields and gardens watered with it are never attacked by that insect. But it must not be polluted by previous contact with the earth; for if a vessel containing it is placed upon the ground, it loses all its efficacy: it is no longer an agent of heaven.[1]

We have already observed abundant traces of the existence of the Arkite system in the Holy Land, partly in connection with the worship of the true God, and partly in its deviations into idolatry. Hence we are prepared to find there that branch of it also of which we are now treating: and, accord-

[1] The Journal of a Russian Traveller in the Literary Gazette, No. 908. It is much to be wished that the whole of that country could be more accurately explored: it would probably throw much light upon the present subject; for the same traveller remarks, that the province of Erivan abounds with antiquarian monuments, whose historical origin is obscured by fabulous traditions. We can appreciate the beneficence of God in landing the Ark-preserved family on Mount Ararat, when we learn that the climate is mild and salubrious, and the water of its numerous springs pure and of delicious taste.

ingly, on Mount Tabor, among ruins of a very remote age, three grottoes or cells are still visible, one of which is called the Sanctuary, and contains an altar. Two of them are beside each other, and near to two cisterns of excellent water; and it is very remarkable that, on the 6th of August, the Friars at this day pass the night there in festivity, and light large bonfires [1]; for it is neither more nor less than a vestige of the old idolatry, rebuked by Jeremiah thus—"The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods." [2] So true is the observation of M. de Marolles, that "Beaucoup de cérémonies du Paganisme ont été sanctifiées par la piété de notre religion." [3] For the cakes still form the feast; the children still collect wood for bonfires; the queen of heaven still surveys from her cold orb the sacred rites; and, doubtless, the cisterns still supply the holy water, which is used in the sanctuary. The purpose for which it was previously used has in both instances been equally forgotten; and as the Friar remembers not the purpose for which the Jewish idolater poured out his drink-offerings, so neither did that idolater recollect the purpose for which the rock basins were designed. He knew, indeed, that they did not belong to the Sabianism with which he was infected: for though he offered incense to Baal and

[1] Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, i. 161. [2] Jer. vii. 18.
[3] Mémoires, p. ii. 209. Very many observances now connected with Christianity have been borrowed from the ceremonies of the Egyptians and the Gentiles.

to all the host of heaven, yet it is most distinctly stated that he poured out his drink-offerings to other gods.[1] There is one passage, which seems to connect those offerings with the queen of heaven; but since it is only an assertion lightly introduced, and rhetorically attributed to the Jewish women in defence of their apostacy, it cannot be admitted in evidence against the grave and clear reproof of the prophet, who repeatedly distinguishes both her and all the host of heaven from those other gods to whom the drink-offerings were due.[2] These were the gods of the mountain and the mound, of pyramids and pillars, of caverns and Cromlechs, of seas and cisterns, of rocking-stones and rock basins—the unseen spirits of the dead, in memory of whose new birth into the post-diluvian world, water was poured out upon the earth; because that earth was regenerated and purified, when the waters of the avenging Deluge were poured over its polluted surface: for the earth itself is declared to have been "corrupt before God[3]," and therefore greatly needed purification. It has been justly observed, that, for the purpose of these lustrations, whether applied to the earth or to its inhabitants, the water collected in rock basins had a peculiar propriety; because it descended immediately from heaven, and was unpolluted by earthy particles.[4] There is nothing new or singular in the assertion, that the rites of purification by water, so generally practised throughout the ancient world,

[1] Jeremiah, xliv. 19. [2] Jeremiah, vii. 18. xix. 13. xxxii. 29.
[3] Gen. vi. 11. [4] Maurice's Ind. Antiq. vi. 167.

were so many memorials of the Deluge, because of its purifying character. It is an opinion, says Spencer [1], which in former times every where prevailed, that the great flood was the purifier of the world; that it was sent from God to cleanse the earth, to expiate its guilt, and to wash away the stains which it derived from the impure character of its inhabitants: it was an opinion inherent in the minds of the ancient Jews, of the philosophers, and of some of the early Christians. Philo conceives it was the intention of the Creator to purify the earth by water [2]; Plato says, that when the gods wished to purify the earth, they brought a flood upon it [3]; Cicero remarks, that all transgressions are expiated by the sea [4]; and Origen testifies that both Jews and Christians were agreed in maintaining that the Deluge purged the earth.[5] To those, therefore, who wished to present themselves in a state of purification before God, washing appeared to be a natural and necessary preparation; and thus it was that Judith washed herself in a fountain of water preparatory to her beseeching the Lord God of Israel to direct her way.[6] It may be said, however, that she only followed the practice of ablution usual among the Jews; yet if we go back to the period preceding the existence of the Mosaic law, we shall find sufficient indications of the same sentiment prevailing then. When Jacob wished to reform the superstitious errors, into

[1] De Leg. Hebr. ii. p. 783.
[2] Phil. Jud. Lib. Quod Deter. Pot. p. 186.
[3] Plat. in Timæo, p. 22. [4] Cicero. Orat. pro Sext. Rosc.
[5] Orig. Contr. Cels. lib. iv. p. 173. [6] Judith, xii. 7.

which his Arkite household had fallen, and to prepare them for a purer service of God at the altar, which he was commanded to build in Bethel, he said to them, "Put away the strange gods, and be clean[1];" which Aben Ezra interprets by washing.[2] And when Job, with that clear-sightedness which distinguishes his religious views, acknowledged the utter insufficiency of water to cleanse the soul from its natural pollution, when he said, "If I wash myself with snow water," that is, the purest water which nature furnishes, "and make my hands never so clean, yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes shall abhor me;"[3] that is, in thy sight I shall be so covered with defilement that my very clothes might abhor their contact with such a body: in making this acknowledgment, he intimates what was the common practice and belief of that age. The practice was outward purification of the body by water; the belief was that which he rejected—a belief that the outward use of water was of some avail to the purification of the soul.

But a far greater importance was given to that ceremony, when it was adopted into the rites of the Mosaic law. God himself seemed to sanction the impression, that a purity acceptable in his sight might be obtained by ablutions in obedience to his word. A life-giving efficacy is attributed to it in this precept of the law, which issued from the

[1] Genesis, xxxv. 2.

[2] The verb טָהַר, which is here used, commonly signifies to be clean by washing.

[3] Job. ix. 30.

mouth of the divine Legislator himself: "Aaron and his sons shall wash with water: they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not."[1] And in conformity with this rule, the Talmud says, that no one entered the court of the temple to minister, although he was legally clean, before he had washed.[2] Neither was it an ordinance confined only to the priesthood; but all the people of Israel were taught that water was an agent of the Almighty to wash away those stains of guilt, which make every man in his natural state unfit to stand before the Lord: for when they were to be prepared to meet with God on Mount Sinai, Moses sanctified them, and they washed their clothes[3]; upon which Selden observes, that in this and all other places where washing of clothes is mentioned, it is generally agreed, that a baptism, or ablution, of the whole body is intended.[4] The Jews, indeed, hold that they were admitted into covenant by baptism, as well as by circumcision; first by circumcision in Egypt, afterwards in the wilderness before the giving of the law by baptism.[5] And there was good reason for their taking this view of the matter; for, as Spencer most justly observes, "this rite of purification so cleanses a man from all filthiness, and, as it were, from his former skin, that he issues out of the water a new person and in a manner born again[6]:" and this is always the condition of entering into covenant with God. We

[1] Exod. xxx. 19, 20.
[2] In Iom. c. 3.
[3] Exod. xix. 14.
[4] De Syned. lib. i. c. 3
[5] Maimon. in Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ, p. 117.
[6] Spencer de Leg. Heb. p. 781.

have seen that the rite of purification, having had its origin in the baptism of the regenerated world, was long antecedent to the appointment of circumcision for that purpose, and was practised by most of the earlier Noachidæ, in the different parts of the world where they were settled. But it did not become a divine institution till the law was given by Moses. The difference between the two rites consisted in this: circumcision was the token of an indissoluble engagement to purity of life[1], for it could not be repeated: but because, notwithstanding the spiritual assistances which were given to those, who underwent that rite in obedience to the law of God, the covenant was often broken by the frailty of man, it was necessary, that some other method should be devised of renewing it from time to time: and none could have been selected more appropriate than that which by the previous consent of mankind was acknowledged to be a type of renovation and of expiated sin. When, therefore, John the Baptist invited sinners to the baptism of repentance, it was no novelty of his own invention; he acted in the very spirit of the Mosaic law; it was the authorised mode of calling upon those who had broken their engagements with God, to renew their vows: they were to be treated as dead men, who must be born again to a new life of holiness and obedience — "dead, indeed, unto sin, but alive unto God."[2] Well might our Lord, therefore, be astonished, that Nicodemus, who was a ruler

[1] The condition was, Walk before me, and be thou perfect. — Gen. xvii. 1.

[2] Rom. vi. 11.

among the Jews, should comprehend so little of the mysteries of the Mosaic law, as to misunderstand him, when he spoke of the necessity of being born again.[1]

That the idea of purification was actually associated by the Jews with the recollections of the Deluge, we happen to have some distinct testimony from a writer of that age to show. The book of Enoch, which is supposed, and indeed proved, by Archbishop Laurence, who translated it from the Ethiopic, to have been written thirty or forty years B. C., speaks of the flood which it pretends to predict, as an instrument of moral regeneration: "Upon the earth a great punishment shall be inflicted, and it shall be washed from all corruption."[2] "And in those days shall these waters be to the inhabitants of the earth for the healing of the soul and body."[3] "These waters of judgment shall be for their healing and for the death of their bodies."[4] And again, "The earth shall be cleansed from all corruption, from every crime, from all punishment, and from all suffering; neither will I again send a deluge upon it from generation to generation for ever. In those days I will open the treasures of blessing which are in heaven, that I may cause them to descend upon earth, and upon all the works and labours of man."[5] But it may be said, if this were the doctrine of the Deluge, what evidence can be produced from the Holy Scriptures to prove it? Now, in the first place, no distinct declarations

[1] John, iii. 4.
[2] P. 163.
[3] P. 74.
[4] C. lxvi. p. 75.
[5] C. xi. p. 12.

upon this subject during the Mosaic dispensation can be reasonably expected; for the feeling was so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and maintained by the various memorials which have been described, that there was danger of their running into the opposite extreme of superstition. There was great danger of their falling into the idolatry of the Egyptians, who deified the waters of the Deluge: for which reason the king of Egypt, being identified with the religion of which he was the head, is addressed as the great Dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, "My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself."[1] For that Dragon was Typhon, the Deity of the Deluge, who may well be supposed to have his residence among the waters, and to claim the Nile, which Homer calls the Ocean, as his own. And hence it was that Jethro was induced to own that "the Lord was greater than all gods, because in the thing wherein the Egyptians dealt proudly he was above them."[2] He alludes to the sacredness of the Nile which was turned into blood, and of the sea which drowned them. 2dly. There are several allusions to that great catastrophe under the aspect, not of vengeance, but of mercy; as if it were a subject of thanksgiving and a motive to trust in God. In the song of Habakkuk, which celebrates the mercies that even in his wrath God had shown to his own people, the prophet seems anxious to separate the cause of the waters from the cause of the

[1] Ezekiel, xxix. 3. [2] Exodus, xviii. 11.

people who were punished. The whole passage is a noble specimen of Oriental poetry; and its bearings upon this subject deserve consideration. "Was the Lord," says he, "displeased against the rivers? was thine anger against the rivers? was thy wrath against the sea, that thou didst ride upon thy horses and thy chariots of salvation?" Aben Ezra supposes the horses and chariots to mean the clouds. "Thy bow was made quite naked; thou didst cleave the earth with rivers; the mountains saw thee and they trembled: the overflowing of the water passed by: the deep uttered his voice, and lifted up his hands on high. The sun and moon stood still in their habitation; at the light of thine arrows they went, at the shining of thy glittering spear. Thou didst march through the earth[1] in indignation; thou didst thresh the nations in anger. Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for salvation with thine anointed; thou woundedst the head out of the house of the wicked, by discovering the foundation unto the neck."[2] It is impossible not to perceive an allusion in this description to some more tremendous judgment than that which overwhelmed the Egyptians; some more important salvation than the deliverance of the twelve tribes from captivity. The last of these verses, in itself somewhat obscure and but little understood, receives considerable light by comparing it with a passage in the song of David, when

[1] The English Version uses the word "land" for "earth," and "heathen" for "nations;" but these are unnecessary limitations of the sense.

[2] Habakkuk, iii. 8—13.

he escaped from the danger of falling into the hands of Saul. When the Lord "made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies: then the channels of the sea appeared, the foundations of the world were discovered at the rebuking of the Lord, at the blast of the breath of his nostrils. He sent from above, he took me, he drew me out of many waters."[1] In both cases there is a pointed allusion to that period, when "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up[2]," and consequently the foundations of the world may be said to have been discovered from the bottom to the top or neck. In another Psalm David more distinctly introduces the same event, not only as an historical fact, but even the mode in which it was usually commemorated by the Arkites. "Thou forgavest," says he, "the iniquity of my sin; for this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found: surely in the flood of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him. Thou art my hiding-place; thou shalt preserve me from trouble; thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance."[3]

I have already pointed out some allusions in the Prophets to sanctuaries in rocks: and this is of the same nature; but the flood is more distinctly mentioned, and the great waters, which shall not come nigh the godly man, who takes God for his sanctuary, shall compass about the wicked, not with

[1] 2 Sam. xxii. 12. 16, 17. Psalm, xviii. 11. 15, 16.
[2] Gen. vii. 11.
[3] Psalm, xxxii. 5, 6, 7.

songs of deliverance, but with destruction. This mode of commemoration continued in Judæa among the few who were initiated even till the era of the Christian dispensation. It has been shown that the mysteries represented that event; and Philo, who was not one of those few, took great offence at being kept in the dark, and thus he reprobates the practice: "Let no follower of Moses learn or teach the mysteries; for if these things are good and useful, why, O ye initiated, do you, shutting yourselves up in deep darkness, benefit only three or four, and not all men openly? Let it be for those who do ill to seek concealment in holes of the earth, and to hide themselves in darkness."[1] It was in reference to this practice, that David declares his conviction, that the only hiding-place from which spiritual good could be expected, was the mercy of God. 3dly, God himself, speaking by the mouth of his prophet, expressly refers to the Deluge as the most distinguished monument both of his wrath and of his mercy. Isaiah thus consoles the Church of Christ: "In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is as the waters of Noah unto me: for as I have sworn, that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn, that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee."[2] Now the transition from a state of wrath to a state of favour is regeneration. When God no longer hides his

[1] De Vict. Offer. p. 567. [2] Isaiah, liv. 8, 9.

face from a church or an individual, when He withdraws his anger and promises them his grace, when He admits them into favour as a reconciled father, and forbears those rebukes which their sins, whether actual or original, have deserved, a new order of things is commenced, which may justly be termed a new creation; old things have passed away—behold! all things are become new. And of this a more lively example could not possibly be proposed, than that renovation of the face of nature by the waters of the Deluge, when God vouchsafed to establish an everlasting covenant of mercy between Himself and the regenerated earth.[1]

Lastly, St. Peter's language is very decisive upon this point: he directs our attention to the days of Noah, and the preparation of the Ark, "wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. The like figure, whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ."[2] Now here it is to be observed, that the water of baptism is expressly likened by the apostle to the water of the Deluge, and the resemblance consists in this—that a salutiferous efficacy is ascribed to each. The water of baptism saves us as the water of the Deluge saved the Patriarch and his family. But it may be asked, why is the Deluge represented as an agent of mercy, rather than of destruction? and why is their safety attributed to the water instead of the

[1] Genesis, ix. 16. [2] 1 Peter, iii. 20, 21.

Ark, which preserved them from its fury? It would be impossible to give any rational account of this paradox upon any other principle than that which has been suggested. The earth was corrupt before God and filled with violence[1]; it was polluted with sin, and consequently was not fit to be inhabited; it was an image of the soul of man, which, when filled with malignity and defiled by sin, is no longer fit to live. It was cursed for the sake of man[2], and the sentence of universal condemnation had gone forth: for the Lord said I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth[3]: and if he had chosen to withdraw at once that sustaining Providence, without which we can neither move, nor live, nor have any being, man would have sunk instantly into annihilation, and become as absolutely nothing, as he was before God breathed into a mass of clay the breath of life. The whole creation might have resumed the aspect which it bore at the commencement of the sixth day; but the truth of God was pledged for the redemption of Adam's posterity by the seed of the woman bruising the serpent's head. It was necessary, therefore, that one family should be exempted from the general destruction to continue the human race; for which purpose Noah was selected, because he was a just man and righteous before the Lord.[4] Yet he was not to be saved by an absolute and unconditional decree, but according to the ordinary method in which God administers his moral

[1] Gen. vi. 11.
[2] Ibid. viii. 21.
[3] Ibid. vi. 7.
[4] Ibid. vi. 9. and vii. 1.

government of the world. The rule of that government has always been, that "the just shall live by faith." [1] Noah's faith was exercised by the preparation of the Ark, which was not a work easily or perfunctorily performed, but occupied the skill and labour of the Patriarchal family during a hundred years. Hence we are told in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that "By faith Noah being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an Ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith." [2]

The long period of time which was suffered to elapse while the vengeance of God hovered over the devoted earth was admirably calculated to prove the character of the Patriarch, and to give him an opportunity of preaching repentance to the ungodly [3], — of showing his zeal in the service of God, and evincing the firmness of his faith; and thus the same flood, which was the instrument of destruction to the unbelieving world, became the instrument of salvation to those who believed the word of the Lord. But there was another most important advantage gained by the mode of punishment selected. The flood, which purified the earth and expiated its guilt, and renovated the face of nature, inculcated, at the same time, a moral lesson to be transmitted to all succeeding generations: it taught men that there can be no reconciliation to God without atonement, and that the stains of sin

[1] Habakkuk, ii. 4. Rom. i. 17. [2] Heb. xi. 7.
[3] 2 Pet. ii. 5.

must be washed away, and that every sinner must be regenerated in order to escape the curse which sin provokes. St. Peter declares that baptism saves us by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[1] At first sight the direct connection between these doctrines is not very obvious; but it must be remembered that a resurrection from the grave bears a very close analogy to that reappearance from the Ark, which was a second life to those who had been entombed, as it were, in that huge coffin, or representative of Hades, the place of departed spirits. It was, therefore, equivalent to regeneration; and St. Paul insists upon the resemblance in express terms: "We are buried," says he, "with Jesus Christ by baptism into death; that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."[2] His argument requires that those who have been baptized should live as regenerated persons. Since, then, the idea of escape from destruction was the predominant notion which the Jews associated with the recollection of the Deluge, there is another passage in the prophet Zechariah which must be considered an allusion to the same event: "It shall be in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem, half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea: in summer and in winter shall it be. And the Lord shall be king over all the earth — all the land shall be turned as a plain from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem: and it shall be lifted

[1] 1 Pet. iii. 21. [2] Rom. vi. 4.

up, and inhabited in her place, — and men shall dwell in it; and there shall be no more utter destruction, but Jerusalem shall be safely inhabited." [1] Prophecy is accustomed to mingle images of the future with images of the past. In the present instance, to disentangle the combination, we must consider what destruction is intended. Now, it can scarcely be the destruction of the city; for so far was it from being utterly destroyed at the time when the judgments fell upon it, which were just before denounced, that one moiety of the people were not to be cut off from it [2]: and the event verified the prediction. But the Hebrew word, which is rendered "utter destruction" in our version, is translated by the Vulgate and Septuagint "Anathema," because it means a curse as well as desolation. If, then, we bear in mind the compassionate declaration of Him, who had just shown himself to be so signally the Lord and King over all the earth, — "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake," [3] — we can scarcely doubt that a comparison was intended between the covenant with Jerusalem and the former covenant with the earth.

In the preceding verse it is said, that all the land shall be *turned* [4] as a plain; but the more obvious meaning of the Hebrew word is, that it shall be encompassed or surrounded; and if rivers were to burst forth from Mount Sion to the east and to the west, the land would be encompassed with waters, like the earth at the Deluge; and

[1] Zechar. xiv. 8—11. [2] Ibid. xiv. 2. [3] Gen. viii. 21.
[4] The margin of our Bible reads compassed.

then the lifting up of the holy hill above those waters, in order to its being safely inhabited, is in exact correspondence with an opinion still current among the Hindoos about their holy place Benares. The mythological reason, says Wolff the missionary, given for its sanctity is, that during a great deluge the space forming the holy ground was raised by supernatural means, so as to remain above the waters, which had drowned the rest of the world. In connection with which he observes, that the Hindoos have a number of expiatory rites, chiefly of the nature of penances for sin.[1] But the prophetic style required that the cleansing agency of those waters should be principally regarded. They were living waters; waters of salvation; waters flowing from the fountain noticed in the preceding chapter, which was opened to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness.[2] They are the exact counterparts of those rivers in Ezekiel, which flowed from the temple and carried life and healing with them to every place over which they passed.[3] But it may be said, that the fountain opened in Jerusalem for sin was the blood of Jesus; and, doubtless, the vicarious sacrifice of Christ by the shedding of his blood is the only source of incorruption to the soul of man. It is a doctrine of higher importance and of prior institution; and as it was consummated before the baptism by the Holy Ghost, so it was ordained before the baptism of the world by water: nevertheless, since the

[1] Wolff's Journal, p. 412.
[2] Zechar. xiii. 1.
[3] Ezekiel, xlvii. 1—9.

former mode of spiritual regeneration was its most important fruit, it might be expected that the latter, which was an outward and sacramental type of that purifying agency, would not be omitted, when the benefits of the sacrifice on Mount Calvary were predicted; and the very language of the prophet shows how intimately those ideas were blended together. In the law of Moses, or rather in the law of God promulgated by Moses, we find the same association studiously maintained. Eleazar the priest was ordered to sprinkle before the tabernacle the blood of an unspotted, unblemished heifer, which had never borne the yoke, and therefore was a proper type of him who never bore the yoke of sin. An opinion of the absolute and permanent purity of the entire animal, whose blood was thus sprinkled, was strongly impressed upon the people by the next injunction, to burn every part of the heifer, and to gather up all the ashes, and to lay them up in a clean place for the purpose of purification[1]: for fire was considered peculiarly pure, and consequently to have a purifying effect upon those things which came within its action. Hence some of the Gentiles made their children pass through the fire in preference to water; and hence it was selected as an emblem of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. But there might be another motive too for this injunction,—a motive similar to that which suggested the use of blood: the ashes would be a perpetual memorial of the death of him who was to "put away sin by the

[1] Numbers, xix. 4—9.

sacrifice of himself." For blood was not adopted into the Jewish ritual for any properties of its own, either real or imaginary; but simply because it was a sign of death, for the blood is the life of the animal[1]; and therefore to shed the blood, was to take away the life; for which reason, "almost all things were by the law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission."[2]

This is the explanation which the inspired writer himself gives of the purpose for which the blood of the Mediator and his testament were mentioned: they implied the death of the Testator; and it was to be understood, "that by means of death for the redemption of transgressions, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance."[3] But although one great object of the blood and the ashes was to stamp upon the ceremonial of the Jewish worship a strong impression of the necessity of a vicarious death, to satisfy the justice of God, and enable him to pardon sin without any impeachment of his holiness, yet it is evident from the context, that their main purpose was to represent the purifying power of that death in the hearts of those who receive him as their Saviour; for it is said, "If the blood of animals and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God."[4] Now

[1] Levit. xvii. 14.
[2] Hebr. ix. 22.
[3] Ibid. ix. 15.
[4] Ibid. ix. 13, 14.

the ashes of the spotless heifer are here inseparably connected with a baptismal ceremony; for it was not that the ashes themselves were sprinkled on the unclean, but the water of separation, in which those ashes were steeped, and that water is expressly declared to be a purification for sin. "It shall be kept for the congregation of the Children of Israel for a water of separation: it is a purification for sin."[1] That sprinkling, therefore, might be considered a baptism, by which the unclean were cleansed, and separated from the pollutions of the world, and qualified to stand in the presence of God. Neither was it a voluntary and optional ceremony: it was not merely a token of cleanliness, by which the devout in heart alone could be acceptable in the sight of God, and which might be safely neglected by those who less aspired to purity: it had the indispensable obligation of a sacrament; and no one who omitted to observe it, after a personal contact with death, was allowed to consider himself included in the covenant with God. The words of the law are these: "The man that shall be unclean, and shall not purify himself, that soul shall be cut off from among the congregation, because he hath defiled the sanctuary of the Lord: the water of separation hath not been sprinkled upon him; he is unclean."[2] But the most remarkable part of this ceremony was the manner in which the Mediatorial character was sustained by the person who was to be a type of the Messiah, the purifier of the world. For as he who knew no sin, bare our sins in his

[1] Numbers, xix. 9. [2] Ibid. xix. 20.

own body on the tree[1], which were purged away by his blood, so the person who purified the unclean with the water of separation was required to be previously clean, and by that act became unclean himself; he took upon himself the uncleanness of others, and was therefore obliged to wash his clothes, and to bathe his whole body in water.[2]

It is evident that, in this case, the sprinkling of water had the same significance as the sprinkling of blood, and was substituted for it only because the blood of the spotless victim could neither be shed nor sprinkled more than once: but its ashes communicated an inexhaustible virtue to the water, in which they were steeped, and that representative sprinkling could be repeated as often as it was needed. The one, therefore, bore to the other the same relation as the Sacrament of Baptism bears to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The former is a means of grace once conferred, which cannot be renewed; the latter continually furnishes supplies of grace, which are continually needed. Both have reference to that one all-important fact, that without shedding of blood, that is, without the death of the piacular victim, there is no remission of sins. In the one wine was selected to be the symbol, on account of its invigorating qualities, and a certain resemblance of colour: in the other water was selected, partly on account of the expiatory character which it had obtained from its effects at the Deluge, and partly because it had been already employed under the Jewish dispensation to

[1] 1 Peter, ii. 24. [2] Numbers, xix. 19.

represent the sprinkled blood. For this reason it is, that the Apostle combines the two allusions, when he exhorts the Hebrews to draw near to Christ with a pure heart in full assurance of faith, having their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and their bodies washed with pure water[1]; that is, says Pusey, "their hearts having been purified by Christ's blood, and its merits applied by holy baptism; for so the Fathers understood those words."[2] The same truth is applied in St. Peter's explanation of the effects of baptism, which he declares to be "not the putting away the filth of the flesh — not, that is, the removal of any ceremonial uncleanness, as under the Jewish law, but the answer of a good conscience towards God." Now no conscience can return a good answer to the Searcher of hearts, but that which is purified by the resurrection of Jesus Christ: but a resurrection includes the notion of death; and the resurrection of Christ is so intimately connected with the gift of the Holy Ghost, that our regeneration from a state of sin into a state of grace is by St. Paul mentioned in language which reminds us of the shedding of blood: "According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he *shed* on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Lord."[3] And therefore St. John combines all three in the work of regeneration: for he tells us, that Jesus Christ came by water and blood, and the Spirit beareth witness; for there

[1] Hebrews, iv. 22, 23.
[2] Pusey's Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, p. 43.
[3] Titus, iii. 5.

are three that bear record on earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one[1],—that is, are united to one end, which is the regeneration of man. For the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin[2]; and he is said to have washed us from our sins in his own blood[3]; and the same Apostle, who reminded the Hebrews that their hearts were sprinkled from an evil conscience, and their bodies washed with pure water, insisted also that the blood of Christ would purge their conscience from dead works.

It appears, then, that when St. Peter declares the effect of that Baptism which saves us, to be, not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, he indicates the essential difference between Jewish and Christian Baptism. That of the Jews was merely mystical and symbolical; but when it was adopted into the Christian institution, it became sacramental, and consequently a direct channel of divine grace to the soul; for it is not to be supposed, that the putting away the filth of the flesh is to be interpreted of the abstergent qualities of water, any more than in that exhortation of St. Paul, "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."[4] Nevertheless it is certain that these two passages have not the same meaning: for if they had, the putting away the filth of the flesh would be exactly the same thing as the answer of a good conscience towards God, which it is not; for the two things

[1] 1 John, v. 6. 8.
[2] Ibid. i. 7.
[3] Rev. i. 5.
[4] 2 Cor. vii. 1.

are placed in direct opposition to each other: the one is denied, the other is affirmed. Since, then, the import of baptism here denied was neither the physical effect of water, nor the moral effect of regeneration, it only remains that it must have been symbolical: and thus Jewish Baptism was opposed to the baptism that saves us, as the symbol to the thing symbolised, as the type to the antitype, as the shadow to the substance. In both it has been shown, that water and blood were alike invested with a purifying power, though in the former the purification was ceremonial, and in the latter moral. Their united efficacy did not escape the notice of several among the Fathers of the Church. St. Paul shows, says St. Chrysostom[1], that the blood and the water are one; for Christ's Baptism is his Passion also. We are washed in the Passion of the Lord, says Tertullian.[2] Thou are bedewed with the blood of Christ, when thou art baptized into his death, says St. Leo.[3] Let us be washed in his blood, says St. Bernard.[4] And St. Augustine addressed "those who were baptized and re-born in Christ Jesus" thus: — Hear me, ye baptized, hear me, ye who have been re-born by the blood of Christ.[5] In conformity with these views the Bohemian Confession states, that "by Baptism Christ purifies, cleanses, and sanctifies his Church in his own death and blood."[6] It is a union which was

[1] Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. 16. Pusey's Script. Views of Holy Baptism, p. 179.
[2] De Baptismo. [3] In Serm. de Quarta Feria, c. 1.
[4] Super: Missus est. Hom. 3.
[5] Serm. p. 224. In die Paschæ, 1. Pusey, p. 190.
[6] Pusey, p. 233.

clearly pointed out and prefigured in God's own ordinance to his people for the purification of sin. Nevertheless the Jews, who have always been blind to the virtue of the Saviour's blood shed upon the cross, seem to have excluded the blood altogether from their scheme of purification. Neither the mark of the blood sprinkled on the door-posts to be a signal to the Angel of Death to pass over those who had so far obeyed the command of God and believed his word, nor yet the frequent sprinkling of blood in their sacrifices for sin, could impress them with a sense of its real value to avert the wrath of God. To them it was a mere outward rite, an *opus operatum*, an unmeaning ordinance; and therefore it was one of the frivolous determinations of their schools, that if one of the prescribed sprinklings was omitted, it had no power to expiate, and if one of them was irregular, the sacrifice became an abomination.[1] So entirely, indeed, did they lose sight of its power to expiate in any proper sense, that one of their decisions affirms uncleanness can be taken away by no other liquid than water, and that too must be clean.[2] They clung, it seems, to the doctrine of the Deluge alone, and had great faith in the power of the water to purify them: on which account Philo says, that almost all when they entered the temple were sprinkled with pure water[3]; and Clemens of Alexandria tells us it was

[1] Si quis asperserit omnes juxta constitutionem earum et unicam contra constitutionem earum, abominatio erit. — *Mischna, Zebachim*, c. iv. p. 2. De sacrificio pro peccato, si quis asperserit aspersiones duas expiat. Ibid. c. 4.

[2] Pocock. Not. Miscell. c. 8. [3] Phil. de Sacrif. p. 848.

so much their custom, that they were sometimes sprinkled in bed for the purpose of qualifying themselves to pray to God. Here then is evidence that they must have attached some mysterious value to water itself; for any water would serve for this purpose provided it was pure. But a mere sprinkling was obviously insufficient to put away the filth of the flesh, whether corporeally or ceremonially: corporeally it could not; for it did not amount to ablution: ceremonially it could not; for it was a voluntary and imperfect symbol, prescribed by no law, and prepared by no rule. It was like the sprinkling of holy water in the Romish Church, which is probably an unconscious continuation of the same custom. The difference between them is simply this:—the Roman Catholics now suppose that the water conveys a blessing by virtue of its consecration; the Jews believed that it conveyed a blessing of the same nature by virtue of its expiatory and renovating powers, to which it was consecrated at the Flood. And hence they were the better able to understand the Prophet Ezekiel, when, with reference to Christian Baptism, in which those fancied virtues were about to be realised by a spiritual regeneration accompanying it, he proclaimed to them in the name of God, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and I will put my spirit within you; I will also save you from all your uncleannesses."[1]

[1] Ezekiel, xxxvi. 25—29.

CHAP. XXVII.

ORIGIN OF BAPTISM. — REGENERATION OF THE APOSTLES. — THE JEWS CHILDREN OF GOD, BORN OF GOD. — REGENERATION IN THE PROPHETS. — USE OF CIRCUMCISION. — IGNORANCE OF NICODEMUS.

It has been shown, that the baptism of the world by the Flood prefigured the two different aspects of Christian Baptism—retrospectively, the expiation of past guilt; prospectively, regeneration, or the entrance upon a new state of life: of these two views sometimes the one is brought forward more prominently, and sometimes the other. In allusion to the former, Ananias said to Saul, "Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins[1];" in prophetic allusion to the latter, Isaiah says, "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well[2]:" and therefore Justin very properly considers this passage to be a prediction of the manner, in which Christians should be regenerated[3]: for he adduces it in illustration of our Lord's declaration, that, "Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."[4] It is to be observed, that he does not think it necessary to cite the subsequent repetition of the same statement, in which the necessity of regeneration by water

[1] Acts, xxii. 16.
[2] Isaiah, i. 16.
[3] Just. Mart. Apol. i. Sect. 61.
[4] John, iii. 5.

is distinctly announced, although it might seem to strengthen his application of the passage in Isaiah: and the reason is, that no one in those days imagined the possibility of regeneration being conferred in any other way than by baptism. When a question arose between the Jews, and some of John's disciples about purifying[1], the distinction here noticed was probably the occasion of it. The Jews, in conformity with the bent of their evil and corrupt affections, paid little heed to that lesson of newness of life, which was inculcated by the doctrine of the Deluge; and their highest notion of purification was limited to the typical expiation of guilt, by which the priests were prepared to offer an acceptable sacrifice to God. That those baptisms were actually intended, as Grotius conjectures, to have some reference to the purgation of the earth by the waters of the Deluge[2], it is reasonable to infer from the name of the vessel which was appointed for that purpose. The other vessels for washing the sacrifices were merely denominated lavers; but that in which the priests were to wash themselves was called the Sea[3]: and though it had not that name till the time of Solomon, one vessel alone having been originally made for all purposes, yet the sanction under which their purification is enforced, has such a peculiar solemnity, that we are driven, as it were, to search for some precedent in the

[1] John, iii. 25.

[2] Credibile est ablutionem hanc fuisse inter vetera instituta, orta, ut arbitror, post magnum diluvium in memoriam purgati mundi. — *Grot. in Matt.* iii. 6.

[3] The Sea was for the priests to wash in. — 2 Chron. iv. 6.

dispensations of God, which may instruct us in the necessity of an expiation by water, in order to acceptance in his sight. When the laver of brass was commanded at Mount Sinai, the Lord said, "Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat: when they go into the tabernacle of the congregation, they shall wash with water, that they die not;—it shall be a statute for ever unto them, even to him and to his seed throughout their generations."[1] In allusion to this precept of the law (and it is a good illustration of the effect which it was supposed to have), the Psalmist says, "Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency[2]: and in another Psalm, with a still clearer reference to the law above-mentioned, David says, "I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass thine altar, O Lord."[3] The same allusion occurs in Isaiah: "Your hands are full of blood: wash you, make you clean;"[4] not only clean from the blood itself, but from the guilt of that blood. For Tertullian observes, that it was a general practice among the ancients, that those who were stained with homicide expiated it by cleansing themselves with water[5]; which, as the heathen nations had no command to that effect, must have been suggested by the memory of some former great expiation by water: for their philosophers were so far from imagining any connection between the outward act and the inward effect, that they ridiculed the credu-

[1] Exod. xxx. 19—21.
[2] Psalm, lxxiii. 13.
[3] Psalm, xxvi. 6.
[4] Isaiah, i. 15, 16.
[5] De Baptismo, c. 5.

lity of those who adopted that common, but to them unaccountable, persuasion. It was not therefore the invention of their wisdom.

It would appear from the language just quoted from the sacred writers, that one half of the ceremony enjoined by the law was omitted by the Jews in practice; for the hands are always mentioned, but the feet never. When, therefore, our Lord washed the feet of his disciples, one motive, besides the lesson of humility which he drew from it, may have been to remind them that obedience is due to every commandment of God, even though it should not exactly accord with our own notions of fitness, and to warn them against the common error of transferring to the material instrument the guilt of the moral agent: because the hands are principally operative in acts of sin, the Jews seem to have thought that they alone needed purification; the absurdity of which opinion Justin points out to Trypho by appealing to those sins which are seated in the heart. "What," says he, "is the use of that washing which only cleans the flesh and the body? Wash your soul from anger and avarice, from envy and from hatred, and behold your body is pure."[1] They had now to learn, that the grace of God is not bound to attend those symbols, which we might ourselves select, but that every one, who in simple faith obeys his ordinance, will receive that peculiar measure of blessing, which the Lord of all things has been pleased to annex to signs of his own choosing.

[1] Just. Dial. cum Tryph. Op. p. 114.

That something more mysterious than the mere inculcation of humility was actually intended, the argument of our Saviour very plainly shows.[1] The language, in which he persuades Peter to submit to the ceremony, is quite sacramental: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me."[2] What is he that has no part in Christ but an unregenerate person? But he that is washed according to his ordinance obtains an interest in Jesus. If any further corroboration of this inference were needed, it might be found in that significant declaration of our Lord: "What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter:"[3] for it were a great derogation from the dignity of the evangelical style to suppose, that it imports no more than this: "Wait a little, and I will tell thee what I mean." *Hereafter* plainly points to a period when, by aid of further illumination from above, he should be able to comprehend something more than that moral lesson of humility, which alone at that time his faculties were competent to understand; when the commandment to baptize all nations would teach them that they, who would have part with Christ, must be saved by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.[4] It may be said, that there is no evidence that in this case the washing was accompanied by any renewing of the Holy Ghost, and, consequently, that it could

[1] Cum lavaret pedes discipulis suis, tacentibus cæteris si taceret et Petrus, solam fecerat formam humilitatis, nihil pronuntiaverat de sacramento baptismatis. Sed cum Petrus recusat, negat illi Christus regnum, nisi accepisset obsequium. — *Optatus Afer, de Schismate Donatist.* lib. v.

[2] John, xiii. 8. [3] Ibid. xiii. 7. [4] Titus, iii. 5.

not have been regeneration: and since the common opinion runs the same way, it is an objection that deserves to be attentively examined. Nevertheless the only difficulty arises from the error of insisting upon the occurrence of one single turning point in the life of every Christian, which alone can be called regeneration, or conversion,—an error which the history of St. Peter is quite sufficient to confute. I would fain ask any one who holds that opinion, at what period of his life St. Peter was regenerated. Shall I be told that it was on the day of Pentecost? Nay, that cannot be; for he had received the Holy Ghost before. There were, indeed, at that time all the symptoms of what is ordinarily called conversion; there was a great and remarkable change wrought in his understanding and his heart; his mind was illuminated with spiritual knowledge; his fears, and his waverings, and his irresolution disappeared entirely, and he was endowed with a courage and a constancy which he had never exhibited before. He looked not now for the restoration of the kingdom to Israel; he wondered no more at his Lord's ascension into heaven; he remained no longer concealed in an upper chamber: but boldly in the temple proclaimed the faith of Christ crucified, and promised that all who repented and would be baptized in his name should receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.[1] Undoubtedly this was a great conversion effected by the Spirit of God.

But when we remember, that the Son of God

[1] Acts, ii. 36. 38.

himself had imparted to them a large measure of that same Spirit some time before, and that the very action which accompanied his speech announced it to be not merely the promise of something future, but the actual conveyance of a present blessing—when we remember that he breathed on them, and said unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained[1]," is it possible that the fondest admirer of systematic theology can maintain, that after that transaction the persons so addressed could be unregenerate? But neither was Peter at that time unconverted. When our Lord told him, that he had prayed for him, that his faith might not fail, and that, when he was converted, he should strengthen his brethren[2], he evidently alluded to his fall from grace by denying him, and the conversion of which he spoke was the re-establishment of his faith, when he repented and wept bitterly: for when they had received from the Son of God himself so large a portion of the Holy Spirit as his words import, they needed no one else to strengthen them. But before that time such assistance must have been most seasonable, for there was very much infirmity mingled with the grace which they had till then received; and Peter's faith rising stronger from his fall, and purified by the fiery trial which perhaps was necessary to correct the impetuosity of his temper, would after the resurrection be of great service to theirs,

[1] John, xx. 22, 23. [2] Luke, xxii. 31, 32.

and actually confirmed it so much as to persuade them of its truth; for upon his single testimony they first believed the fact: when the two disciples who had been at Emmaus, returned to Jerusalem, "they found the eleven gathered together, and those that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared unto Simon."[1]

But though after he had fallen into sin, conversion was most necessary, yet he was not even then unregenerate; for on the evening before, our Lord himself had expressly declared that they (his Apostles) were not of this world, that they had been chosen out of the world, that they were his friends[2], and were loved by the Father because they loved him.[3] It is certain, therefore, that they were not the children of wrath, nor enemies of God. The question, therefore, naturally returns, When then were they regenerated? There is no incident in their previous history that marks any change of heart; and certainly it was not when they were called to the Apostleship; for after that event, they continued apparently in the same state of darkness as before: they were reproached more than once for want of faith[4]; and Peter, in particular, was stigmatized as one who had yielded to the Devil, and savoured not of the things that be of God, but of the things that be of men.[5] Moreover they were worldly and ambitious, and contended for temporal superiority; and therefore Jesus said

[1] Luke, xxiv. 33, 34. [2] John, xv. 15. 19.
[3] Ibid. xvi. 27.
[4] Matthew, xiv. 31. xvi. 8. xvii. 20. Mark, iv. 40.
[5] Matthew, xvi. 23.

unto them, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."[1] Now the only transaction between those periods, which is stamped with any thing like the features of regeneration, is that ceremony on the necessity of which our Saviour so strongly insisted; a ceremony which was nearly equivalent to the Sacrament of Baptism. For the outward sign was water, and the inward part, or thing signified, is thus described by our Lord in his answer to Peter, who had concluded from the urgency with which it was enforced, that the more he was washed, the greater would be his union with Christ: "He that is washed, needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean[2]," that is, ye are made clean by this washing; for if they had been clean before, they would not now have needed it. But there were certain peculiarities in the condition of the Apostles, which necessarily caused some variation of that sacrament from its subsequent institution, both outwardly and inwardly: they were placed in the transition from one dispensation to another, and so were partakers of both. They were not, like the Church of the present day, admitted into covenant with God for the first time by baptism: for they had been admitted into covenant with Him before, by the rite of circumcision. That rite was the Jewish sacrament of initiation. By it the men of Israel were introduced into the covenant first made with Abraham, and afterwards renewed with a part of his descendants

[1] Matthew, xviii. 3. Mark, ix. 33. [2] John, xiii. 10.

through Moses, who is therefore called the mediator of that covenant[1]; and it had all that is necessary to constitute a sacrament; for, 1. It was an outward sign as well as means of cleanliness; and it was "a seal of the righteousness of faith[2];" it was an indelible memorial of that fundamental principle of all true religion, that "the just shall live by his faith[3]:" it reminded the Jews, that the covenant in which they claimed an interest was the reward of Abraham's faith; and it assured them, that in the same way they also should be justified.

2dly, The outward sign was accompanied by an inward and spiritual grace, which is thus promised by Moses himself, when he explained the engagements of each contracting party in the covenant between them: "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live."[4] If their lives, for the most part, were a direct contradiction to the hope thus set before them, it was not because God suffered his truth to fail, but because "they kept not his covenant, and refused to walk in his law."[5] If the Holy Spirit had not been imparted to them, they could not have been condemned for vexing and resisting Him; yet this is the plain testimony of Scripture: "They rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit, therefore he was turned to be their enemy."[6] And the martyred Stephen spoke very decidedly to the same effect when he

[1] Galat. iii. 19.
[2] Romans, iv. 11.
[3] Habakkuk, ii. 4.
[4] Deuter. xxx. 6.
[5] Psalm, lxxviii. 10.
[6] Isaiah, lxiii. 10.

upbraided his countrymen for not having kept the law: "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye."[1] It was not, therefore, from want of aid always at hand that they fell into idolatry, and hardened their hearts against the truth. The option of embracing or rejecting it rested with themselves; and on no other hypothesis is it possible to render a satisfactory account of those reproaches with which the prophets load the Jews, or of those pathetic expostulations with which they endeavour to reclaim them from their sins, and to persuade them to make a better choice. Isaiah opens his prophecy with this eloquent and earnest remonstrance: "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me — a seed of evildoers' children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward."[2] He had owned them for his children, and had nourished them with grace; but they had gone backward and forsaken him: they had resisted his Holy Spirit, and thereby provoked him to anger; and therefore he says in another place: "Woe to the rebellious children that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin."[3] For their sin was greatly aggravated, and became more exceedingly sinful, when, in order to sin, they rejected the holy counsel with which the Spirit of God would

[1] Acts, vii. 51. [2] Isaiah, j. 2. 4. [3] Ibid. xxx. 1.

have covered their hearts. The same thing is implied in the affectionate message which Jeremiah conveyed to them: "Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings."[1] They are not only entreated to return to God, which, without the aid of his Holy Spirit, they never could, but they are also upbraided for their backslidings: but if they had not been children of grace, they could have none, from which it was possible to fall away. To Ezekiel, again, the same Holy Spirit designates them as impudent and stiff-hearted children, who had rebelled against him.[2] Although, therefore, the spirit of love, which had been promised, not only to those who had been immediate parties to the covenant, but also to their children, had been expelled from their breasts, and consequently they had forfeited the privileges of their adoption, nevertheless, it appears that those privileges were not irrecoverable, and that they had not lost their right to be entitled the children of God.. They might still have been addressed, as St. John addresses the professors of Christianity: "Behold what manner of love the Father has bestowed upon you, that you should be called the Sons of God."[3] In neither case did the persons in question require what is commonly called regeneration with a view to their becoming the children of God. St. John takes for granted, as the Apostles uniformly do, that those whom he addressed had been regenerated, however much they might need to be renewed by the Holy Ghost; and therefore,

[1] Jerem. iii. 22. [2] Ezek. ii. 4. [3] 1 John, iii. 1.

when he speaks of those who were born of God, that is, who were the children of God, he never once introduces the phrase of being born *again*. There is not the slightest reference to the transition from a state of nature into a state of grace, and nothing but a strong attachment to a peculiar system of theology could induce any one to force such an interpretation upon the language of St. John: "Whosoever," says the Apostle, "is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."[1] Does he mean that no regenerated person sins, nay, that he cannot sin because he is regenerate? It is almost an insult to the understanding of a Christian to ask the question; for it is an assertion diametrically opposed to our own personal experience, and in direct contradiction to the testimony of the Apostle himself; for, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us:" and "If we say we have not sinned, we make God a liar, and his word is not in us."[2] It is no salve for this difficulty to say that wilful sin only is intended; for very few, even of worldly men, will openly brave the wrath of God, and sin in resolute defiance of him; and in any other sense all sin is wilful, since the sinner, in yielding to temptation, prefers his own will at that time to the will of God. Neither would the assertion be true, even if we were to go so far as to interpret it of living in a state of sin. For, "After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from

[1] 1 John, iii. 9. [2] Ibid. i. 8. 10.

grace given and fall into sin, and, by the grace of God, we may rise again, and amend our lives;" [1] and it too often happens, that those who are acknowledged to be the children of God, are for a time backsliders, and live in a state of sin. The prodigal son did not cease to be a son during the time that he was immersed in sensuality; and though lost so long, and reckoned among the dead, yet, in the midst of his misery, he felt that he had a father to whom he might return; and when he sought forgiveness with tears of contrition and deep humility, he was welcomed with that eager affection, which warms the heart of a parent towards a repentant son after years of absence and of folly. Or, if an example from real life be preferred to the fictions of a parable, we have a striking instance of the same kind in David: He, who was the man after God's own heart, and elected to be a type of the Messiah — he, who walked so much in communion with God, and was honoured with so many tokens of his paternal protection, and had the effusions of his pen sanctified by the Holy Spirit — he surely must be admitted to have been born of God; and yet from the time when he first saw Bathsheba, till the day when her child was taken away from him by the just judgment of God, he was living in a state of unrepented sin. Moreover, we are not at liberty to do violence to the Apostle's language, and force our own construction upon his own plain statement of a fact. It is true, that some words must be supplied for the sake of explanation; but then

[1] Articles of Religion, 16.

they must be such words as will not give a totally different meaning to the terms which he has chosen to employ. "To sin" is an expression than which there is none in Scripture more intelligible, or more unmistakable. It necessarily comprises sin of every sort in every degree and at every moment; and the argument of St. John is simply this:—he first assumes a position, from which he afterwards argues as an indisputable axiom, that every professor of Christianity is a child of God. "Behold, now are we (Christians) the sons of God."[1] "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God."[2] "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."[3] But it seems that there were some in those days, as there have been in all ages of the Church, who talked much of their religious privileges without any corresponding anxiety to avoid sin. Against these he strenuously contends, through the greater part of the epistle, that carelessness in the moral and social duties is quite incompatible with their profession of faith: "He that saith I know Christ[4]:"—"He that saith that he abideth in him[5]:"—"He that saith he is in the light[6]:"—All these are warned that their boasting is false, unless they keep Christ's commandments, and walk as he walked, and love their brethren. And though they were the children of God by adoption, yet he reminds them of another sense, in which their filial relationship to him might be considered. The spirit

[1] 1 John, iii. 2. [2] Ibid. v. 1. [3] Ibid. iv. 2.
[4] Ibid. ii. 4. [5] [6] Ibid. ii. 9.

of imitation is so strong in children, that the characters of the parents may usually be determined by observing the character of their offspring: and, according to this rule, they who commit sin and do the works of the Devil are said to be the children of the Devil.[1] In the same sense they who do not commit sin, so long as they do not commit it, are the children of God. Hence it follows, that the same person may be at one moment a child of God, and at the next a child of the Devil. And so much is intimated by the Apostle himself: for he says,—"In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the Devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God," but of the Devil.

Now, no man can flatter himself, that in every moment of his life he does righteousness; for the infection of our old nature remains, yea, even in them that are regenerate, and therefore we are exhorted to "put off the old man, which is corrupt, according to the deceitful lusts, and to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."[2] For the spirit and the flesh, the law of God in our minds, and the law of sin in our members, are carrying on a perpetual conflict, and according as we yield to the one or to the other, we are to consider ourselves the children of God[3], or the children of the Devil; and, therefore, the Roman converts, though they had been made free from sin, and had become servants to God, are still earnestly admonished to yield them-

[1] 1 John, iii. 8. [2] Ephes. iv. 22. 24.

[3] Thus the peacemakers are called the children of God, children by imitation. — *Matthew*, v. 9.

selves to God, and not to sin.[1] Such exhortations would be not only superfluous, but insulting, if it were literally true, that those who are born of God cannot commit sin. The child of God, so far as he is a child of God, most certainly cannot sin; for the principle of divine life, which remains within him, is incapable of sin: but there is also a principle of evil lurking in his heart, and tempting him to sin, against which he must constantly watch and pray, because it implies a parentage, which no rational being would willingly claim. It is impossible to imagine a stronger argument for vigilance than that which the Apostle here suggests; it is impossible to place in a stronger light the incompatibility of sin with a claim to Christian privileges. No objection can be taken against this explanation of the passage by those who believe that St. Paul is describing the condition of a regenerate man, when he speaks of him as carnal, sold under sin, and brought into captivity to the law of sin, which is in his members.[2] For to be the slaves of sin, and to be the children of the Devil, are synonymous terms: we cannot be the one without being the other too; and therefore, if the one can be predicated of the children of God, so may the other also. So wholly averse indeed to system and its technical restraints is the language of Scripture, when rightly understood, that the same phrase, namely, the children of God, is used by St. Paul in another sense still, in a sense which is equally remote from the question of regeneration.

[1] Romans, vi. 13. [2] Ibid. vii. 14. 23.

When he says that, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God[1]," his argument requires that he must be understood to mean they are partakers of an immortal nature. Death and life being terms usually employed to signify the eternal states of punishment and of reward, he had pronounced in the preceding verse this solemn warning to the converted Jews of Rome: "If ye live after the flesh ye shall die; but if ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live[2]:" for, he proceeds to argue, as many as are led to do this by the Spirit of God have in themselves a principle of divine life, which partakes of the undying nature of God himself. For the Spirit, which they had received since their conversion to Christianity, and introduction into the covenant of grace, was not that insufficient measure of it, which formerly excited in them fear rather than hope, and bound them to obedience rather by terror than by love. The Spirit, which they had then received, was that which should teach all who are so adopted into the family of God, as we Christians are, to regard him with the confidence and affection of children: and that is a testimony which perfectly coincides with our own feelings and desires, that we are the children of God, and by necessary consequence heirs of immortality, together with Christ, provided, that is, that we suffer in our bodies, like him, by mortifying our sinful inclinations: for on no other condition can we enter into his glory, into

[1] Romans, viii. 14. [2] Romans, viii. 13.

that glorious state, the fruition of which will be incomparably more than an abundant compensation for the worst sufferings of the present life. But this is a truth, of which the full developement must be reserved till the final judgment; for till then Christians, who are a new creation in Christ Jesus, must wait in earnest expectation of that period, when it will be manifested who are the sons of God: till then, they must submit, however unwillingly, to mortifications and disappointments, and vain longings for a more perfect state; for hope is our portion here—the hope of deliverance from the corruption of our own hearts, and of the grave, into that glorious freedom from sin and death which rewards the "children of God," who are also the "children of the resurrection."[1] If this be a correct paraphrase of St. Paul's argument, it is evident that the fact of regeneration is all along assumed as an undoubted privilege of Christians, and that neither the mode, in which it is effected, nor the time of its accomplishment, is once contemplated by the Apostle.

In every other instance, to be the children of God signifies the enjoyment of sacred privileges. When St. John speaks of the children of God scattered abroad for whom Christ died, and who were to be gathered together in one fold with the Jewish nation, no one can doubt that he alludes to the conversion of the Gentiles, and their being called into the Church of Christ.[2] St. Paul gives the same interpretation to those passages in Hosea,

[1] Luke, xx. 36. Romans, viii. 14—21. [2] John, xi. 52.

where he predicts the mercy of God to the heathen world: "I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved. And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there shall they be called the children of the living God."[1] And therefore he tells the Galatians, who had been partly Gentiles, that all of them, whether Jews or Gentiles, all the individuals composing that church or congregation, were the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ. For it was always taken for granted, that believers must have been baptized; and whatever modern sects may think of it, no one at that time was deemed a Christian who had not been introduced by that ordinance into the Christian covenant. But, as if to preclude all doubt or mistake of his meaning, the Apostle immediately subjoins this distinct explanation of the fact, which he had asserted: "for," says he, "as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ; ye are all one in Christ Jesus."[2] All then had put on the new man; all had been regenerated; all had been united in one body as members of Christ, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Nevertheless this hinders not but that there may have been a previous regeneration into a state of inferior privileges, which were afterwards swallowed up in the more copious graces of the gospel. Such, indeed, is the doctrine of the Apostle himself in continuation, as it were, of the same subject. For he almost

[1] Hosea, i. 10. ii. 23. Rom. ix. 25, 26. [2] Gal. iii. 26—28.

immediately adds, — "Now I say, that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all, but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father; even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world: but God sent forth his Son to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons."[1] Here it is evident that they, who were previously under the law, that is, the Jews, were considered by St. Paul as the children of God even then; but in a state of pupillage, and restraint, and narrowness of liberty; for "the law was their schoolmaster to bring them unto Christ."[2] The adoption, therefore, which they received by their conversion to Christianity, does not mean that they were then for the first time adopted into the family of God, for they had belonged to it before; but they then received the full privileges and perfect freedom of a riper age by the unreserved communication of God's Holy Spirit, enlarging their spiritual views, and enabling them to do all things through the strength of Christ. The very same term is employed by St. Paul in another place[3] to express the final cause of our adoption; to wit, the redemption of our bodies from the power of death and the corruption of the grave. But he also applies it to the state of the Israelites under the law, his "kinsmen according to the flesh, to whom pertained the adoption, and

[1] Galatians, iv. 1—5. [2] Ibid. iii. 24.
[3] Romans, viii. 23.

the glory, and the covenants."[1] That God had indeed adopted them to be his children, He himself proclaimed to them by his prophet Jeremiah: "I am a father to Israel[2];" and that it was a spiritual adoption seems to follow from the argument of St. Paul: "They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God, but the children of the promise."[3] The Ishmaelites and Edomites were children of Abraham as much as the Jews, and they likewise practised circumcision; but it was not with them a sacramental rite: it was merely an inherited custom, but not performed in obedience to the ordinance of God, or in any reliance upon the truth of his promises. The most essential ingredient of all true religion, namely faith, was wanting. The Jews, on the other hand, believed that it was a seal of their covenant with God; they believed, that by it they were admitted into the number of his children and of his elect people, and the national feeling upon this subject is thus expressed by Isaiah: "Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer, we are thine. Thou never barest rule over them (our adversaries); they were not called by thy name."[4] This is what St. Paul means, when he says, that to them "pertained the adoption and the covenants."[5] Weak, therefore, though their faith undoubtedly was, and unmindful of the main point which had been revealed to their forefathers by Moses and the prophets, the vicarious sacrifice of Messiah,

[1] Romans, ix. 4. [2] Jeremiah, xxxi. 9. [3] Romans, ix. 8.
[4] Isaiah, lxiii. 16. 19. [5] Romans, ix. 4.

still there was enough for the mercy of God to accept in ratification of his covenant; and, consequently, they were not shut out from the enjoyment of those spiritual benefits which the covenant was intended to assure. To those benefits St. Paul must be understood to allude, when he told the Jews that circumcision profited them if they kept the law[1]; and when in answer to the question which they are supposed to ask, "What profit is there of circumcision[2]," his answer is, "Much every way." The actual nature of those benefits may be inferred, partly from what has been already said, and partly from the manner in which circumcision is connected with baptism by the same Apostle. In order to comfort the Gentile converts, who might fear that they had lost some spiritual good, which the Jews enjoyed, by their want of circumcision, he shows them, that it was now superseded by another sacrament, and that its inferior means of grace were merged in the much larger privileges of Christian Baptism. "Ye are complete," says he, "in him, which is the head of all principality and power; in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him."[3] They might dismiss their fears, that there was any thing defective or incomplete in their regeneration on account of their not being circumcised, because being made members of Christ by baptism, and incor-

[1] Romans, ii. 25. [2] Ibid. iii. 1, 2. [3] Colossians, ii. 10—12.

porated into his mystical body, they partook of his circumcision, or, in other words, of the benefits of his obedience to that divine ordinance. It would have been a most unprofitable waste of words to dwell on their virtual participation of that sacrament, unless it were an admitted fact that, during the Mosaic dispensation, it was permitted to be an instrument of conveying some spiritual privilege to the soul.

The effect of circumcision, which was not to be denied to those who were circumcised in Jesus Christ, was "the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh;" and no expression could have been more aptly chosen to denote its analogy to the effect of baptism, which was the putting away, not merely the filth, but the sins of the flesh, and so cleansing the conscience. But after the symbol of the initiatory sacrament was altered, that change of state took place in the Gentile converts, not by two gradations, as in those who had first been circumcised, and then admitted into the Christian covenant, but at once and completely in the ordinance of baptism; for then the old man in them, their old unregenerate nature, expired, and the body of sin was buried, and then the new man was raised up in them; they were clothed with a new nature, a nature as different from that which they had before as our glorified bodies will be from our mortal bodies, or as the post-diluvian world was supposed to be from that which existed before the Deluge. And now we may perhaps find that we have a better insight into the nature of the dispute

between the Jews and the disciples of John. Ablution, or ceremonies of purification by water, had always been used as a memorial of the regeneration of the world; and as such it was accepted by the God of Israel, and allowed to be a temporary means of cleansing his people, and sanctifying them for sacred offices. But when the forerunner of our Lord appeared, he prepared the way for the Sacrament of Baptism, by adopting it as a solemn pledge of repentance, and consequently an engagement to newness of life, that being a purpose for which it seemed to be peculiarly fitted from a consideration of its origin. But in discussing this difference, it could not escape their notice, that our Lord seemed to meditate something higher and of more importance in the baptism, which he instructed his disciples to perform; and therefore they came to inquire of John what it meant[1]; for many of those who sought it must have been the very same persons who had been previously baptized by John; at least, that seems to be a necessary consequence from a comparison of the two transactions. Both Matthew and Mark tell us that "there went out unto John all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins."[2] When, therefore, we hear that all men came to Jesus for baptism, and that his disciples baptized more than John, it is impossible not to conclude that a large proportion of them were re-baptized, because they supposed that the baptism of Jesus

[1] John, iii. 25. [2] Matthew, iii. 5. Mark, i. 5.

was of more value than that which they had received before; and they were right, for John himself had before declared to them that "he baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." [1]

And although baptism was not yet ordained to be an instrument of regeneration, yet since the ceremonies of the Jewish law were, according to the acknowledgment of Scott, sacramental signs and means of grace [2], we cannot attribute a less value to a ceremony ordained by Christ himself. If it be objected, that those multitudes could not have received the Holy Ghost, because they afterwards exhibited no evidence of it in their lives, the answer to that objection is to be found, not in any contradiction of the Word of God, nor in any attempt to explain it away, but in a candid admission of this plain fact, that there is no inconsistency in the two statements. They were baptized with the Holy Ghost, and yet they exhibited no fruit of it in their lives. The grace, which they are acknowledged to have received from the Mosaic ordinances, was equally ineffectual in the end. It had indeed a temporary activity, and made some impressions, which however, like the morning dew, soon vanished away; for since they believed that John's commission was divine [3], their coming to his baptism was a fugitive conversion of their hearts to God; and their confession of sin and disposition to repentance must have been the work of the Holy Spirit. If then that measure of the Holy

[1] John, i. 33. [2] Commentary on Acts, xv. 11.
[3] Matthew, xxi. 25.

Ghost, which had been already bestowed, was subsequently resisted, and ultimately rejected, the argument is utterly untenable, that, if they were baptized by our Lord with the Holy Ghost, they must have retained his influence, and acted according to his dictates. Hence it follows, that when St. John says, that "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ[1]," it would be a great mistake to imagine that there was no grace or truth in the law; for the law was "holy" and "spiritual[2];" and David says, "Thy law is truth[3]," and that the law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul[4], and that mercy and truth had met together[5]; and the Levites, after their return from Babylon, acknowledged that God had sent his Holy Spirit to instruct their fathers[6]; and Isaiah complained that they had vexed his Holy Spirit[7]; so that renewing grace was undoubtedly bestowed upon the children of God in some measure under the old covenant, although it was as nothing in comparison of the abundance, which has since been poured upon the hearts of Christians; and the various promises made to them of renewing their hearts, which were not finally and completely accomplished, till grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, yet received a primary fulfilment after the restoration of the Jews to their own land. They were designed to comfort them in their captivity[8], and were inseparably connected with that other promise of a temporal nature, that they should

[1] John, i. 17.
[2] Romans, vii. 12. 14.
[3] Psalm, cxix. 142.
[4] Ibid. lxxxv. 10.
[5] Ibid. xix. 7.
[6] Nehemiah, ix. 20.
[7] Isaiah, lxiii. 10.
[8] Ezekiel, xi. 19. 25.

dwell again in the land which God had given to their fathers.[1] In point of fact we know, that after their return from captivity a new spirit seemed to possess the Jews. They never again yielded to the enticements of idolatry; there was no occasion for any one to "teach his neighbour, saying, 'Know the Lord:' for all knew him from the least of them unto the greatest of them."[2] The Levites took pleasure in proclaiming the mercies of God, while they confessed their own unworthiness, and the outpourings of their hearts to him were full of fervent thanksgiving. "Blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted far above all blessing and praise: Thou, even thou, art Lord alone[3];" and the people "entered into an oath to walk in God's law, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord their God, and his judgments and his statutes."

So far then they conformed to the exhortation of the prophet, by casting away their transgressions, and making themselves a new heart and a new spirit[4], which however they could not have done if they had not been born of God: for to address such language to unregenerate persons, would be not less ridiculous than to bid the blind see. Since then it has now been proved, that the Jews were adopted to be the children of God, and thereby admitted to the enjoyment of spiritual privileges, we may the better understand how it is, that "because baptism succeeds in the room of circumcision, and is the seal of the Christian covenant, as that was the seal

[1] Ezekiel, xxxvi. 26. 28.
[2] Jeremiah, xxxi. 34.
[3] Nehemiah, ix. 5, 6. x. 29.
[4] Ezekiel, xviii. 31.

of the covenant made with Abraham, therefore it is by way of analogy sometimes styled the greater circumcision; as when Epiphanius, comparing them both together, says, the carnal circumcision served for a time, till the great circumcision came, that is, baptism, which circumcises us from our sins, and seals us in the name of God."[1] It is evident, then, that the change of condition effected by admission into the fellowship of the Gospel could not be so striking to the Jew, who was converted under the ministry of our Lord or his Apostles, as to the unregenerated Gentiles, to those who, like the Ephesians, were without hope and without Christ, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise. His eyes were better prepared for the glories of the sun of righteousness, even by that dim twilight which he enjoyed, than those which were called into that marvellous light out of the blackest darkness of nature; and this will serve to account for that otherwise extraordinary fact, that in none of their writings do the Apostles dwell upon the circumstances of their regeneration. It was with them a gradual process, not effected suddenly or by a single operation. Nevertheless so vast was the accession of privilege obtained by admission into the covenant of grace, that the act by which that admission was sealed, and a title to its benefits according to the will of God confirmed, might well be deemed a second spiritual birth; and therefore our Saviour clothed the obligation laid upon his disciples with this form of expression in his conversation with

[1] Hær. viii. al. 28. Bingham's Antiquities, iii. 122.

Nicodemus: upon the acknowledgment of his divine commission, which that ruler made[1], he instantly opens it by the important declaration, that unless a man were spiritually born again, that is, a second time, he could not taste the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom. But Nicodemus was here quite at fault: regeneration was not a technical term of his theology; the doctrine was there, but he had not found it. He could think of no other birth than that which was natural and carnal. In order to remove the cloud from his understanding, our Lord explicates his meaning more distinctly by saying, that he must be born of water and the Spirit. The opinion that men were, in a certain sense, regenerated by water, was so common that it seemed to need no further explanation: but the spiritual regeneration, which was thenceforward to be associated with its type, was so remote from ordinary apprehensions, that he dwells a little longer upon that part of the subject[2], and shows, that it is the invisible grace which belongs to every sacrament; and, in order to check all presumptuous reasonings upon the probability or propriety of this association, he compares it to the wind, of the existence of which you are quite sure, although you cannot discern its origin, nor tell how far it reaches. Nicodemus however was still perplexed: the whole theory of regeneration seemed to be new to him, and he could not understand it. He made no objection to one part of the doctrine more than to another: all was alike incomprehensible to him; and

[1] John, iii. 3. [2] Ibid. iii. 5—8.

even that shadow of regeneration, which was seen and admitted among men, was as unintelligible to him as the rest: "How can these things be?" This it was which induced our Lord to remark, If I have told you of earthly things, of things known and received among men, and ye believe not even that, if you cannot understand the meaning of regeneration by water, how can you understand spiritual regeneration? How can you believe my evidence on a subject with which I alone can be acquainted, because no one else ever came down from heaven? How can you believe in that gift of the Holy Spirit, which all who come to my baptism in faith shall assuredly receive? In perfect conformity with this view, St. Paul studiously associates the ideas of baptism and regeneration. To the Church at Corinth, he says, "Ye are washed; ye are sanctified."[1] If there had been no necessary connection between them, the mention of washing might have been spared; and it would certainly not have been introduced by any one, who regarded that washing, as some do in the present day. But he more plainly affirms the same thing, where he says, that Christ gave himself for the Church, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word."[2] For in that passage, "the word," on the authority of all the Greek and of many of the Latin fathers, including St. Augustine, is to be understood to mean the mystical words of baptism, the words by which mere water was consecrated, and became a sacrament.[3]

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 11. [2] Ephes. v. 25.
[3] Estius and August. in Pusey's Scriptural Views of Baptism, p. 216.

CHAP. XXVIII.

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION IN THE FATHERS OF THE THREE FIRST CENTURIES.

It has been shown, that ever since the time when the family of Noah, the offspring of the Ark, which was indeed the mother of all living creatures, with the exception of those which inhabited the sea, issued forth into the air and light of a new life, and stepped once more upon the renovated earth, now cleansed from its former guiltiness by the waters of the Deluge, the Providence of God had so overruled the superstition thence arising, that a notion of some mystical regeneration by water and expiation of sin had been kept alive among all the nations, with whose history we are well acquainted; and thus the world was prepared to receive that doctrine of a moral regeneration by baptism and forgiveness of sins, which is the commencement of a new life to every Christian. It has been shown, that this view of the matter is in perfect conformity with the account given of it by the inspired penmen, and that all Scripture rightly interpreted and correctly understood speaks the same language. But there are some who see it in a different light, and contend, with equal confidence, for the correctness of their own interpretation. Now when there is a difference of opinion between two parties on a subject affecting their civil rights, they are in

the habit of bringing their cause before a competent tribunal, in order to obtain a decision, in which both may be content to acquiesce; for otherwise, since both would still persist that their opponents were in the wrong, it is plain that the dispute would be interminable. For the same reason common sense points out the necessity of having recourse to the same means of arriving at a determination of the present inquiry. To whom then shall we appeal? Some may say to the illuminating Spirit of God: and, if the honour of God were concerned, it is possible that he might not withhold an answer from his humble suppliants, supposing both parties to be sincere: but if one of them were not, the controversy would remain exactly on the same footing as before. For though the doctrine of one would be true, and of the other false, yet, without some external sign, without some extraordinary gift of the Holy Spirit, like the power of working miracles, there would be nothing for the guidance of human judgment to show which had received an answer, and which had not. But we have no right to expect a Divine interposition to resolve the ordinary questions of theological dispute; for these were intended to exercise our industry, our meekness, our humility, and our powers of discernment: and therefore if Candidus and Sincerus, not having sufficiently examined the state of a question about which they differ, agree to pray to God to decide their difference by teaching them the truth, they will indeed have shown their piety, but not their wisdom. For it is certain, that each will arise from his

prayer only the more confirmed in his own opinion, each as far as ever from convincing his opponent; and the only result of the experiment will be to scandalize true religion, by making it appear that the Spirit of Truth can affirm direct contradictions.

To whom then shall we appeal? Who are most competent to judge what was the meaning of the language used by the Evangelists and Apostles? Shall we consult those who lived fourteen centuries after them, or those who lived with them, and conversed with them, and were taught by them, and received from them all their knowledge of Christianity? And if no reasonable man can doubt, that their contemporaries were the most capable of conveying to us that instruction, it follows, that those whom they instructed were in the best condition for receiving the truth, and transmitting it to their successors in return. The nearer we ascend to the fountain head, the purer will the waters flow; the three first centuries therefore after the Apostles were more likely to know in what sense the Apostles themselves used a theological term, than any three centuries that have since elapsed. I do not say that they were free from error, or that any uninspired writers are absolutely safe authorities for doctrine; but they are unexceptionable witnesses to a mere matter-of-fact; and, in the present instance, the fact with which we have to do is this:—were the first converts to Christianity in the habit of considering baptism equivalent to regeneration, and necessarily attended with some spiritual grace, or were they not? Exceptions no doubt there were;

exceptions, like Simon Magus, which are sometimes particularly noticed: but *exceptio probat regulam.* The identity of the two terms was the rule, and a rule absolutely universal, except where the prevarication of man was a hindrance to the mercy of God. In every other case baptism was held to be the passage into a new life, a resurrection from death, a transition from a state of enmity into a state of peace and reconciliation with God. It was the commencement of a new existence to those who were thus admitted within the pale of Christianity, which fully justified the expression, that they were born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible; since the privileges of the Christian life, though they may be lost by folly and wickedness, can never perish by decay, nor by any defect of immortality in themselves. Among those privileges, the greatest stress was deservedly laid upon the remission of sins; for all guilt contracted before baptism was considered to be absolutely cleansed away by the laver of regeneration; and therefore, when the Pelagian controversy arose, the baptism of infants was brought forward as the most irrefragable argument to prove the doctrine of original sin. The champions of orthodoxy appealed to the universal admission of that principle; namely, that baptism conveyed remission of sins to the recipient, and justly argued, that since infants cannot sin after the similitude of Adam's transgression, knowingly and willingly, the sin remitted in their baptism must be original sin, the fault and corruption of their nature. Since then it is only sin which sepa-

rates us from the love of God, when the guiltiness of their nature in infants is pardoned by the invocation of the Holy Trinity in baptism, according to his own appointment, they are so far brought near to their heavenly Father; and what our Church states generally concerning that sacrament, is equally true of infants, that, being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, they are thereby made the children of grace. Now certainly when the child of wrath becomes a child of grace, he undergoes a change of condition, which may well be denominated a new birth; and in this view of the subject, I propose to show that all those who lived nearest to the age of the Apostles, and were most likely to use the same language, decidedly concur.

I proceed, therefore, to adduce evidence from the writers of the four first centuries to determine in what light they regarded baptism; only premising, that in the unsophisticated Christianity of the primitive Church, before systems of theology had perplexed what before was easy, and complicated what before was simple, we are not to look for any formal statement of those fundamental doctrines which were not at all obnoxious to the heathen, and were familiar to all the faithful: it is only incidentally, and in handling other matters, that the subject of baptism is ever introduced. Of the authors then belonging to the Apostolic age, three will be produced — Barnabas, Hermas, and Clemens Romanus. True it is, that the genuineness of the writings attributed to the two former, as well as of

some that pass under the name of Clemens, has been disputed. Some think that part is genuine, but defaced by many spurious additions and interpolations; others refuse them altogether the shelter of those names. But still since they are certainly comprised within the period which I have undertaken to examine, and no other date can be precisely fixed, it will be most convenient to give them the priority which they claim. 1. Barnabas, or whoever it was that assumed the name, in commenting upon the terms in which Jeremiah reproaches the Jews with forsaking the fountain of life, and hewing out for themselves broken cisterns which would hold no water[1], supposes them to be a prophetic accusation of that people for refusing to receive the baptism, which brings remission of sins; and Ezekiel's vision of the healing waters[2] he applies to the same purpose: "for," says he, "we descend into the water full of sins and filth, and ascend from it bearing in our hearts the fruit of fear, and direct our hopes to Jesus by the Spirit."[3] Now, whatever may be thought of his skill as an interpreter, it is obvious that he was in the habit of considering baptism, not only in some instances, but without any reservation, as conferring grace, and especially that greatest effluence of Divine favour, the forgiveness of sins. 2. Hermas, the Pastor, describes a vision, in which the Church appeared to him like a tower built upon waters, which are afterwards explained to be the waters of baptism; and the reason is this: "because

[1] Jeremiah, ii. 13.
[2] Ezekiel, xlvii.
[3] Barnabas, Epistola, c. 11.

your life has been, and shall be secured by water."[1] And in another place, speaking of the stones used in the construction of the tower, he says, "they must needs ascend through the water that they may find a resting-place; for they could not enter into the kingdom of God otherwise than by laying aside the mortality of their former life: they therefore (being dead as to their former state) are sealed with the seal of the Son of God—that seal is the water into which men descend to die, and ascend out of it to live."[2] Hermas, therefore, had also been taught to believe, that, as a general rule, all baptised persons, by virtue of their baptism, became members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Their subsequent life is a new state of existence, into which they are born again in that sacrament, as much as if they had died before it. 3. Clemens asks, "Unless we preserve our baptism pure and uncontaminated, what confidence can we have of entering into the kingdom of God?"[3] This passage indeed does not touch the question of regeneration otherwise than indirectly: but it proves his opinion, that sanctifying grace is imparted in baptism, which may be afterwards forfeited and lost by yielding to the defilements of the world. But it is very remarkable, that he speaks of Noah preaching regeneration to the world.[4] It may be doubtful whether he wrote "of the world," or "to the world;" but it is of little consequence: in either case the meaning is the same.

[1] Hermas, Visio 3. lib. i. [2] Lib. iii. Similitudo 9.
[3] Clemens Romanus ad Corinthios, Epist. ii.
[4] Ad Corinth. Epist. i. sect. 9.

He warned the ungodly world of the flood of waters which was about to regenerate the earth, and so to save it from the total destruction which it deserved: "The like figure whereunto," says St. Peter, "even baptism doth now save us."[1]

In the Apostolical Constitutions, which are ascribed to him, this passage occurs: "They who are baptized into the death of the Lord Jesus, such ought no longer to sin: for as the dead are incapable of sin, so in those who have died with Christ sin is impracticable. Therefore we do not believe, brethren, that any one having been washed in the laver of life, can still act the lusts of lawless men. But he who sins after baptism, unless he repents and ceases to sin, will be doomed to hell."[2] The latter clause shows that the first is merely hortatory, and implies that, though all who are baptized partake of the fountain of life, all will not on that account necessarily live to God. The laver of life is called by the same author in another place[3] the laver of regeneration. In one of the Homilies bearing his name, he enumerates among the things required by Christianity, "to be baptized for the remission of sins, and thus by a most pure baptism to be born again to God by saving water[4]:" and in another he asks, "What does it contribute to piety to be baptized with water? The answer is, 1. You perform what God requires; 2. Being born again of water to God, you change your former carnal birth, and thus may obtain salvation: for

[1] Epist. i. c. 3. 21. [2] Constitut. Apostol. lib. ii. c. 7.
[3] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 39. [4] Clementina Homilia, 7.

there is something of original mercy conveyed upon the water, which saves from future punishment those who are baptised in the name of the Trinity."[1] In the Recognitions, supposed to be addressed to St. James, the same question is answered much in the same way; but the latter part is varied thus: "To him who is regenerated of water and born again to God, the fragility of his former birth is cut off, and thus at length you will be able to arrive at salvation; but when thou shalt have been regenerated by water, show by your good works a resemblance to that Father, who has made you his son."[2] And again, in treating of that birth, which is by baptism, it is said, that "he who has been regenerated by water, good works being also fulfilled, is made an heir of him by whom he was regenerated in incorruption."[3] No one can doubt that the writer of these passages, if he were not Clemens, at least followed in the same track as Clemens himself upon this subject, and that baptismal regeneration was the ordinary rule of his theology.

In the second century, which was the first after the decease of the Apostles, seven witnesses shall be produced, to testify what was the common opinion of the Church in this particular during the whole of that period—Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Theophilus, Melito, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Tertullian. 1. Of the genuine writings of Ignatius, we do not possess much, and therefore

[1] Clementina Homilia, p. 11. The same thing is repeated in Clementina Epitome de Gestis S. Petri, c. 18.

[2] Recognit. lib. vi.

[3] Ibid. lib. iii. De Generatione quæ est per Baptismum.

we cannot look for much from him on any single topic. But in his Epistle to Polycarp, we have this sample of the admonitions, which he recommended to be addressed to the people of Smyrna: "Let not one of you be found a deserter; let your baptism remain on you like the arms of a soldier." [1] Here it is plain, that he could not mean the outward ceremony, for that is a single and transitory act: it can only be understood of the grace imparted in baptism, the spiritual effect of it, which all the Church of Smyrna had received, and which any of them might throw away by yielding to temptation.

2. Justin Martyr certainly did not imagine that regeneration could be separated from baptism; that is to say, ordinarily. The exceptions must have appeared to him so few as to be unworthy of notice. In his Apology he says, "We will tell you in what way Christians dedicate themselves to God: when they have been renewed through Christ, when any are convinced of the truth of our doctrines, and will promise to live according to them, they are taught first to pray for the pardon of their former sins, and then being taken to some place where there is water, they are regenerated by the same mode of regeneration as those who preceded them." [2] Here the difference between conversion and regeneration is plainly marked out. The former may sometimes precede the latter, as it did in Saul and in Cornelius: but the blessing of God is distinctly

[1] Epist. ad Polycarp. sect. 6. Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 41.
[2] Just. Mart. Apolog. i. 80.

annexed to baptismal regeneration; the effects of which he describes to be, that they obtained the pardon of their past sins in the water, and the enlightenment of their minds[1]; for which reason baptism was called illumination. But the most important part of Justin's testimony, the most important at least to our present purpose, is that which concerns the doctrine of the Deluge: for he affirms, that the mystery of the salvation of mankind was contained in that Deluge; for Christ being the first-born of every creature, became again the head of another race, regenerated by him through water, and faith, and the wood of the cross, in the same way as Noah, riding upon the waters, was saved in his wooden abode."[2] He does not appear to have referred to that origin from which I have endeavoured to deduce it, the practice of heathen ablutions; but if it be viewed in that light, the contrast which he draws between them and Christian Baptism marks precisely the difference between a mere commemorative rite, and one which, because it is a sacrament, is necessarily a means of grace. "The heathens," says he, "washed themselves before they entered the temples; but the baptism of Christians, which is the water of life, is that alone which can cleanse the penitent." Now since repentance is required after baptism, as well as before it, a continued stream of grace is supposed to flow from that source; and the water of life, it has been already shown, is the same thing as the water of regeneration. It has been erroneously

[1] Just. Mart. Apolog. i. 80. [2] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 229.

inferred, that Justin alluded to the occasional inefficacy of baptism, when he asks what is the use of that baptism which only washes the body? With respect to the Church, it was a case which he never contemplated: he was not speaking of Christian Baptism at all, but of that which the Jews employed.[1] There is a treatise ascribed to Justin, of which however it is certain that the whole was not written by him, and perhaps no part of it: some things indeed seem to point out a remoter date than would fall within the limits of this inquiry. But there is one passage suspected of Pelagianism, which falls in sufficiently well with the latter part of that period, and which shows in a striking light how much beyond all possibility of dispute it must have appeared in that age, that some life-giving grace was imparted in baptism, when those who rejected the doctrine of original sin durst not place unbaptized infants on the same level with those who were baptized. It is to this effect: "The difference between infants dying baptized and unbaptised is this,—the former obtain the benefits annexed to baptism, the others do not."[2]

3. Irenæus, who is stated by Basil to have been near to the Apostles, says, that "Our Lord, committing to his disciples the power of regenerating to God, said to them, Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; for this he promised by his prophets to pour out upon his servants

[1] Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 114.
[2] Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodoxos. Just. Mart. Op. p. 462.

in the last times." Some gifts of the Spirit therefore he considered to be regularly appended to baptism; and he afterwards describes them to be, the operating in the baptized the will of the Father, and renewing them from their ancient state into the newness of Christ.[1] Neither is this the only place in which he speaks of baptism as identical with regeneration to God[2]; nor does he exclude the case of infants: for he expressly mentions them among those who, being regenerated unto God, are saved by Jesus Christ.[3] It may not be out of place to mention here, that he speaks of the Deluge as having been brought upon the earth with a view to the obliteration of sin.[4]

4. Theophilus, who is generally believed to have been the sixth bishop of Antioch about the year 169, took it into his head, that the seven pitchers of water at the marriage supper in Cana of Galilee represented the seven churches of Asia Minor, "being," as he says, "filled with water, that is to say, with the grace of baptism."[5] Whatever may be thought of his judgment, it is plain that he considered himself to be speaking the voice of the Church in his days, in making the waters of baptism under all ordinary circumstances a vehicle of grace.

5. Of the writings of Melito, who was bishop of Sardis about the same time, but a very few fragments now remain. Yet his testimony is to the

[1] Iren. Adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 19.
[2] Ibid. lib. i. c. 18. Τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως.
[3] Adv. Hæres. lib. ii. c. 39. [4] Ibid. lib. v. c. 29.
[5] Theoph. ad Autolycum, lib. iv.

same effect. "Ezekiel," says he, "called the water, which was figurative of holy baptism, water of forgiveness; for there are but two things which convey remission of sins, martyrdom and baptism."[1]

6. Clemens of Alexandria, who speaks of himself as living in the age next to that of the Apostles, was strongly impressed with the persuasion, that a doctrine of regeneration by water was very anciently and extensively entertained; for he notices the fact, that the Brachmans believed in regeneration[2], and that those, who were to be initiated into the mysteries, were wont to be purified with water[3]; and he supposes, that the ablutions, which, according to Homer, were practised by Penelope and Telemachus as a preparation for prayer, were in truth an image of baptism derived by the poet from Moses.[4] Yet he does not on that account treat baptism merely as a commemorative sign of regeneration; on the contrary, he strenuously insists upon the inefficacy of those ablutions to any spiritual purpose, because they could not cleanse the heart: but the effectual union of the Spirit and the water he attributes to the baptism of our Lord, whose regeneration in the waters of Jordan was signified by the declaration from heaven, "This day have I begotten thee." He was made perfect by the washing of baptism alone, and sanctified by the descent of the Holy Spirit. "The same thing," he adds, "happens with respect to us, as in the example of Christ:

[1] Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 118.

[2] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. c. 7. It is remarkable that he notices their religious veneration of a pyramid.

[3] Ibid. vii. c. 4. [4] Ibid. iv. c. 22. Hom. Odyss. B. and Δ.

being baptized we are illuminated; being illuminated we are made sons; being made sons we are perfected; being perfected we are made immortal."[1] With respect to the sense in which he uses these terms, he himself tells us that baptism is that by which we wash away sins, and illumination is that by which the sacred light of salvation is perceived. Neither may we think that by perfection he means perfect sanctification, nor by being made immortal that a full consignation to immortality in heaven is designed; for he tells us elsewhere, that our Lord wishes us, having been regenerated by water, to be as children recognising our real father.[2] The intention of the grace given in regeneration is pointed out, not its absolute effects.

It sometimes happens, that the permanent impression upon a writer's mind may be discovered from the indirect evidence of a casual phrase, with almost as much certainty as from a more explicit statement. Thus Clemens relating the story of a young man at Ephesus, who had been reclaimed from great enormities by St. John, says, that he was baptized a second time with tears.[3] It is evident that he was describing his conversion; not a conversion from heathenism to Christianity, but that sort of conversion, which is too often indispensable among the professors of Christianity. It was a conversion from a life of sin to a life of holiness, which is sometimes figuratively denominated regeneration, because a transition into

[1] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. i. c. 6. [2] Stromat. lib. iii, c. 12.
[3] Clem. Alex. Quis Dives salvetur, vol. ii. sect. 42. p. 960.

newness of life resembles that transition into newness of state, to which alone the term is properly applied. In this sense the baptism here mentioned by Clemens must be understood; for in any other the expression is stripped of all its point and meaning. The tears bear no analogy to baptism, unless they are supposed in a figurative sense to wash away his past offences, and to mark the commencement of a new life. If he had been of the same opinion as some modern theologians, that baptism is of no avail to those who afterwards live in a state of sin and alienation from God, he would not have spoken of the young man's conversion as a second baptism, but as the first and only true regeneration. But this was not the doctrine of the primitive Church. Some extracts from the writings of Theodotus were collected by Clemens, or at least have been added to his works, which on that account may claim a share in this examination. He was indeed a heretic, a follower of Valentinus; but since that sect are not accused of error upon this point, even their testimony will strengthen the position, which I have undertaken to defend. He says, then, that "he who is baptized yields himself to God, and receives power to tread on scorpions and serpents, that is, on evil spirits: and Christ commanded his disciples to baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, unto whom we are regenerated, being made superior to all other powers. Therefore baptism is called death, and the end of our former life, on our renouncing the dominion of evil. But life belongs to Christ, of which he alone

is Lord; and the change is operated, not upon our bodies, which remain the same after baptism as before, but upon the soul."[1] Of whatever heresies, therefore, the Valentinians may have been guilty, they cannot at least be charged with having maintained that baptism was not the ordinary vehicle of regeneration, or that no change is effected upon the person baptized.

7. Tertullian, who wrote towards the close of the second century, is a most important coadjutor in asserting the doctrine of the Deluge. The analogy between that event and the Christian sacrament is thus maintained by him: "As after the waters of the Flood, whereby the ancient iniquity was purged away, after the baptism, if I may so speak, of the world, the dove sent from the Ark announced to the earth that the wrath of heaven was pacified, so by the same disposition of spiritual effects the dove of the Holy Spirit sent forth from heaven, where the church is a figurative Ark, flies down to our earth, that is, to our flesh emerging from the laver after our former state of sin, and brings the peace of God. But the world again relapses into delinquency, and in this evil too baptism may be compared to the Deluge."[2] "Oh, happy Sacrament! by which, washed from the sins of our former blindness, we are set at liberty unto eternal life."[3] It is scarcely possible to state in more explicit terms the doctrine admitted by the early Christians all along, that baptism expiated all

[1] Excerpta Theodoti ex Scriptis, sect. 76, 77.
[2] Tertull. de Baptismo, p. 227. [3] Ibid. p. 224.

previous sin, whether actual or original. For with respect to the latter, the Deluge is a most pointed illustration; since guilt is imputed to the earth itself, although incapable, like infants, of committing sin, and that guilt was purged away by the baptismal waters of the Flood. Neither is this doctrine introduced like a controverted tenet, which needs to be established by argument, but it is taken for granted as an acknowledged truth, and a subject of just congratulation. And lest any one should think, that he did not consider that approximation to God, which is effected by the removal of guilt, as equivalent to regeneration, he proclaims the blessedness of those who were baptized because the grace of God waited on them, when they rose from that most sacred laver of their new birthday.[1]

Upon this subject, there are many who might profit by the castigation which he inflicts on those among his heathen opponents, who ridiculed his doctrine. "There is nothing," says he, "which proves the hardness of men's minds so much as the simplicity of the divine operations in regard to the act, compared with the magnificence of the promised effect: as here, because with so much simplicity, without pomp, without any new apparatus and without expence, a man entering the water, and sprinkled, with the addition of a few words, rises from it not much or not at all cleaner, therefore the consecution of eternity is thought incredible. Miserable incredulity! which denies to

[1] Tertull. de Baptismo, p. 232.

God his peculiar attributes of simplicity and power. If the waters at the Creation produced the first living things, let it not be thought wonderful, that in baptism water should give life; the nature of water, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit of God moving on it, received the power of sanctifying."[1] We may not be satisfied with the cogency of the concluding argument; but if it proves nothing else, it at least proves that in Tertullian's mind, a life-giving grace was inseparably connected with his idea of baptism; and the indignant expostulation in the preceding passage is a just rebuke to those who think slightingly of that ordinance; because they consider it too weak an instrument to effect so mighty a change as regeneration, or because they prefer some Abana or Pharphar of their own, to the waters which our Lord himself appointed for the cleansing of the soul from sin.

In the third century, six writers demand our attention, and carry on the stream of testimony through the whole of that period, — Hippolytus, Origen, Cyprian, Martial, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Methodius. Hippolytus was a bishop, who suffered matyrdom about the year 230. His logic is not very good, nor his ideas very distinct; but the importance which the Church in his days attached to baptism is sufficiently clear. "If a man," says he, "becomes divine (spiritual[2]) through water and the Holy Spirit, by the regeneration of the laver, he is also found to be a co-heir of Christ,

[1] Tertull. de Baptismo, p. 225.

[2] Θεὸς γίνεται. — *Homil. in Theoph.* sect viii. p. 264.

after the resurrection from the dead." And again he asks, "How shall a man arrive at immortality? How? By water and the Holy Spirit. This is the water partaking of the Spirit, by which Paradise is watered, and the earth is fertilised, and vegetables grow, and animals increase, and, to sum up all at once, by which the regenerated man is born into life." [1] There is more piety than consistency in these observations; for though it be quite right to ascribe all the beneficial effects, not only of water, but of every created thing to divine agency, yet it argues a great confusion of ideas to class together that ordinary exertion of divine power with the agency of the Spirit upon persons baptized. Yet it must not be supposed to proceed from any disposition to disparage the sacrament, to which he assigned its full importance; for thus he addresses the unconverted heathens: "Come, then, be regenerated, O man, into the adoption of the sons of God;" and, after quoting Isaiah's exhortation, "Wash you, make you clean [2]," he adds, "Seest thou not how the prophet predicted the cleansing power of baptism? For he who descends with faith into the laver of regeneration renounces the evil one, and is united to Christ." [3]

The invitation here being addressed to adults, the condition of faith is necessarily introduced. But when faith brings an infant to the font, it is to him by virtue of the same free and sovereign grace the laver of regeneration; and it is evident from

[1] Hom. in Theoph. sect. viii. p. 264. [2] Isaiah, i. 16.
[3] Hom. in Theoph. sect. ix.

the language of Hippolytus, that in that light he always viewed baptism.

2. Origen began his career about the time when Hippolytus terminated his, and compensated for the errors of his judgment by the constancy of his martyrdom. He expresses very clearly his persuasion, that all, who were admitted into the Church of Christ, were to be considered in a regenerate state, and, like Tertullian, he takes occasion from the Deluge to illustrate his own views of that state. "As at the Flood Noah was told to make an ark, and to introduce into it not only his sons and relatives, but also animals of every sort, so our Noah, Jesus Christ, at the bidding of his Father made an Ark, and dens in it for the reception of various animals. This people, who are saved in the Church, are compared with those, whether men or beasts, who were saved in the Ark. But since all have not the same merit, nor the same proficiency in faith, all have not the same lodgment in the Ark, although contained within one creed, and washed clean by one baptism; for it was divided into two stories below, and three above; the lowest containing those irrational animals, whose savage nature even the sweetness of faith has not softened; next above these come the gentler animals — those who, with somewhat of folly and irrationality, have yet much simplicity and harmlessness, and so on through the ascending tiers, till you come to that which is occupied by the sons and relatives of our true Noah, or Rest."[1] Origen, therefore, supposes all those

[1] Homil. 2. in Genes. ii. 63.

who are baptized to be saved from the flood of wrath, which overwhelms all who are out of the Church, though he pronounces nothing as to their future state. He has another observation upon Noah, which must not be omitted, because it corroborates some positions which have been advanced in a former part of this work. In commenting upon the fourteenth chapter of Ezekiel, he says, "I once heard a Jew say, Noe, Daniel, and Job are introduced, because each of them saw three periods, one of joy, one of sorrow, and again of joy. Consider Noe before the Deluge, when the world was in its bloom; the same Noe afterwards preserved in the Ark (which he supposes to have been shaped like a pyramid [1]) amidst the wreck of the whole earth; consider how after the Deluge he went forth and planted a vineyard, and became, as it were, the author of a second world."[2] They who first propagated the traditions of this event among the heathens, seem to have regarded it under the same aspects, and have applied different epithets to their Dionusus accordingly: when they confined their view to the last-mentioned circumstance, they called him Protogonus, or the first-born; when they took into account all the three divisions of time, as so many distinct periods of existence, they called him Trigonos, or the thrice-born. But when they considered the middle interval of sorrow, as a period of death, and the Ark as a dreary tomb, then they denominated him Di-

[1] Πυραμοειδες. — *Homil. 2. in Genes.* ii. 60.
[2] Homil. 4. in Ezek. iii. 372.

gonos, or the twice-born,—that is to say, the regenerated man.[1] It has been already observed, that in Origen's opinion all baptized persons were in a state of privilege and grace, but that both the one and the other might be abused, and ultimately bring no benefit to those who shared them. That opinion is so frequently expressed, not in the way of controversy, but as the natural enforcement of an acknowledged truth, that it is evident he considered himself as only delivering the known sentiments of the Church. Thus, for instance, "When the priest passed through the river Jordan, part of its waters were driven back, and retained their sweetness, and part flowed on into the Dead Sea, and mingled with its bitterness. So, it is not all who are baptized that retain the sweetness of celestial grace, which they have received, but some turn to the bitterness of sin; for some who receive holy baptism, giving themselves up afterwards to worldliness and the enticement of deceitful lusts, perish in the salt waters, but that part of the river which preserved its purity points to those, who keep the gift of God, which they have received, without swerving from it."[2] And again, "Thou hast been

[1] The same relation of the Deluge to renovation is also noticed in the answer to Celsus, who seems to have quoted an objection raised by the Jews against the Christians, for the sake of throwing ridicule upon both. The Jews objected to the idea of the world being reformed by Christianity, because it would be more in character for God to punish wickedness and purify the earth, as formerly, by a flood. Celsus, he says, has no right to laugh at this, so far as it refers to the past. It became God to stop the progress of sin, and to renew the face of things; and the Greeks themselves acknowledge, that the earth has been purged by a flood. To prove this he cites Plato.—*Contra Celsum*, lib. iv. sect. 20.

[2] Orig. Homil. 4. in Lib. Jesu Nave, ii. 405.

consecrated at the altar of God by the grace of baptism, and been made a clean animal: but if thou keepest not that commandment of the Lord which he spake,—Lo, thou art made whole; now take care not to sin, lest a worse thing happen unto thee; but having been cleansed hast spotted thyself again with the stain of sin, and hast swerved from virtue unto lust, and from purity to uncleanness,—it is thine own fault, that, having been a clean animal, thou hast given thyself over to share the state of the scapegoat in the wilderness." [1]

But it may be said, all this furnishes no evidence that he applied the term regeneration to the change which takes place in baptism. Let us then proceed a little further in our examination of this witness. In commenting upon St. Matthew's use of that term, ch. xix. 28., he refers it to the resurrection, which will be another birth into a new state of existence, where there will be new heavens and a new earth. "Now the introduction to that regeneration is what St. Paul calls the laver of regeneration; and the introduction to that new state of existence is that renewing of the Holy Ghost, which is consequent upon the laver of regeneration. By our natural birth every one is polluted; but by the regeneration of the laver every one is clean, having been born again of water and the Spirit, yet only clean as seen through a glass, and darkly: but in that regeneration, when the Son of Man will sit upon his throne in glory, he will be quite clean, face to face, having arrived at that regeneration through the laver of

[1] Homil. 9. in Levit. p. 238.

regeneration."[1] To the same period of glory he refers the prophecy of the Baptist, that our Lord should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Again, in his remarks upon the danger, to which Moses was exposed in the Ark of bulrushes, he exclaims, "See as soon as you are born, yea, as soon as you are re-born, what perils await you: this is what you read in the Gospel, that Jesus immediately after his baptism was taken into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil."[2] Here it is taken for granted as a matter of course, that the new birth is contemporaneous with baptism, and apparently too with a peculiar reference to the case of infants. However, his opinion upon that subject is placed beyond a doubt by several passages. "By the Sacrament of Baptism," says he, "the foulness of our birth is taken away; wherefore also infants are baptized, for unless a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."[3] And to prove that no human being is clean from guilt, no, not if his life be only one day old, he refers to the practice of the Church in giving baptism to infants, when that baptism is given for the remission of sins; since if there were nothing in infants to be the subject of pardon and indulgence, the grace of baptism would appear superfluous.[4] He has rightly added indulgence to pardon as a further part of the baptismal grace, because being brought near to a reconciled Father by the remission of sin, we may reasonably hope for such

[1] Comment. in Matth. Tomus xv. vol. iii. p. 686.
[2] Homil. 2. in Exod. ii. 134. [3] Homil. 14. in Luc. iii. 948.
[3] Homil. 8. in Levit. ii. 230.

additional favour, as an indulgent Father would be willing to bestow, and it may well import that degree of spiritual grace, of which he supposes those little ones who were brought to Jesus to have partaken. "The prayer and the touch of Jesus imparted to infants, who could not hear what intelligent persons hear, enough of assistance, and as much advantage as they are capable of receiving."[1] As to the mode in which that grace is administered, he concludes from the passage in St. Matthew, which speaks of their angels[2], that to those angels their guardianship is consigned: and he canvasses the question, whether they receive that charge from their birth, or from the time when they become infants in Christ by the washing of regeneration. In favour of the latter opinion he urges, that no holy angel is present with those who are in a state of sin, for the season of unbelief is subject to the angels of Satan. But after regeneration he who bought us with his own blood delivers us to the charge of a good angel.[3] The hypothesis of a guardian angel may be considered too bold, founded as it is upon a single passage of doubtful iuterpretation: but it represents well enough the sort of watchful aid, which always waits upon baptized persons, if they are willing to avail themselves of it.

3. Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage about the middle of this century. In his time doubts arose with respect to clinic baptism, and he was consulted with respect to its validity; whether those

[1] Comment. in Matt. xix. 13. Tomus xv. 659.
[2] Matt. xviii. 10. [3] Comment. in Matt. Tomus xiii. vol. iii. p. 607.

who were not washed, but sprinkled upon a sick-bed, were to be esteemed regular Christians, or whether, though they obtained Divine Grace, it was only a shorter and smaller measure of the heavenly gift and of the Holy Spirit which they obtained; so that, though they were Christians, they were not to be placed on the same level with the others. On this point his judgment was that, whoever had obtained Divine Grace according to the rule of faith, — in other words, whoever had been baptized, was to be deemed a Christian; that baptism was equally regular, whether performed by infusion or by sprinkling, and that the gifts of God cannot be supposed to be feeble or deficient in any to whom they are granted.[1] But Cyprian occupies a more important position, when he speaks, not only his own opinion, but as the president and organ of a Provincial Council. Infant baptism had occasioned some disputes; not that its lawfulness or propriety was ever called in question; and this is a very strong argument in its favour: for if it had been an innovation introduced at any period subsequent to the Apostolic age, it must have excited animadversion from some party in the Church, and been noticed by some ecclesiastical writer. The question submitted to the consideration of the African Fathers at the third council of Carthage, fully recognised the practice as a point that had never been disputed. But Fidus had maintained that baptism being the spiritual successor of circumcision, infants should not be baptized before the eighth day; and

[1] Cyprian. Epistol. p. 76.

he seems to have complained that some had resorted to that ordinance within the second or third day after the birth. The council, consisting of sixty-six bishops, unanimously determined that the mercy and grace of God are not to be denied to any one; and Cyprian, who communicates this determination, argues that "the grace which is given to those who are baptized cannot be greater or less in proportion to the age of the recipients, because the Holy Spirit is not granted according to measure (the measure of our worthiness), but according to the affection and indulgence of a father equally to all.[1] And again, "If remission of sins is granted to the most heinous offenders when they become believers, and baptism and grace is prohibited to no one, how much more should it not be prohibited to an infant, who, being just born, has committed no sin, except that, being born after the flesh, it has contracted the contagion of death from its first birth."[2] Baptism, therefore, was the second birth, and the doctrine, that grace is imparted in that ordinance to all who do not themselves hinder its reception, is explicitly stated. In a subsequent epistle to Stephen, the Bishop of Rome, he lays down this rule: "Then only can they be fully sanctified, and become the children of God when they are born of the double sacrament; since it is written that 'Unless a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.'"[3]

[1] Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, iii. 75. [2] Ibid. p. 76.
[3] Epist. lxxii.

4. About this time, Martial became bishop of Limoges. Two epistles are ascribed to him, and, on that account, they are noticed here; but their date is extremely uncertain. The manuscript is said to have been found in a tomb in St. Peter's Church, in an almost illegible state. It is probable, therefore, that much was supplied by the transcriber, who mistook the bishop for one of the same name in the first century, and accordingly has made him speak in that character. Whatever credit may be due to these epistles, their language is in perfect accordance with the evidence already produced. The first is addressed to the people of Bourdeaux, "who were already born again in Christ, by water and the Holy Spirit[1];" and the second declares that, "unless a man be baptized in the name of Christ by the water of regeneration, he cannot be saved."[2] Multitudes of people are said to have been brought to the fount of regeneration, and were not the less believed to have been born again, because some of them might ultimately perish. "The soul," says he, "lives again by baptism, but some perish; and those which Christ had washed with the water of sanctification, the enemy of life wins over to his own perdition, because, being backsliders from God, they involve themselves in deadly sins."

5. Gregory, called Thaumaturgus, died, according to Cave, in the year 265. Nicephorus places that event much later. In his sermon on the Bap-

[1] Epist. ad Burdegalenses, c. 1. Biblioth. Patr. tom. ii. 108.
[2] Epist. ad Tolusanos, c. 4. and 8.

tism of Christ, he says, "Let us contemplate the image of our own regeneration, which is shadowed out in those waters; and he seems to have considered the baptism, by which we are admitted into the Church, to be compounded of the three particulars mentioned in the Gospel — water, the Holy Ghost, and fire; the office of the water being to wash away the corruption of sin; of the Holy Ghost, to make us spiritual instead of earthly; of fire, spiritual fire, to burn up the briars of wickedness.[1] All these effects, therefore, though distributed to their several agents, were combined in baptism as a whole. Neither was Gregory insensible to the importance of the Deluge, as a type of baptism and regeneration; for he observes, that "the Father, by sending the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove, pointed out the new Noah — Noah, the author of a new world, and a good pilot of nature in peril of shipwreck."[2] Whatever may be the inaccuracy of the similitude, which I am not at all bound to defend, it is plain that the regeneration of nature by the Deluge was transferred in this author's imagination to the regeneration of Christians by baptism.

6. Methodius fills up the remainder of this century. He maintains, by a somewhat whimsical line of argument, the undoubted truth, that every one who is born again becomes a member of Christ. Upon the principle that the second creation must correspond to the first, he contends that as Eve was

1 Greg. Sermo de Christi Baptismo. Bib. Pat. tom. iii. p. 315.
2 Ibid.

taken out of the side of the first Adam, so the Church, being the spouse of the second Adam, must be taken out of the side of Christ; for "the Church," says he, "cannot as a mother conceive believers, and regenerate them by the laver of regeneration, unless Christ adhering to his spouse had allowed them to be formed out of his side; for the rib is his Spirit, by partaking of which they are regenerated to incorruption."[1] In perfect conformity with the same rule of belief he holds that St. Paul was renewed through baptism; which in that case must mean regeneration; for though a man may be and must be renewed frequently after baptism, yet renovation through baptism must mean something more than an outward sign, or a seal of foregone blessings.

[1] Method. Convivium Virginum. Orat. iii. Bib. Pat. tom. iii. p. 682.

CHAP. XXIX.

TESTIMONIES FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY, AND CONCLUSION.

In the fourth century, the number of writers increases so much, together with their distance from the Apostolic age, that short extracts from the works of each will suffice, except that at the close of that period, the opinions of the two Fathers, who have exercised the greatest influence upon the Christian Church, Jerome and Augustine, will require a more attentive consideration. 1. Then Lactantius wrote under the Emperor Diocletian about the year 303. His works are more philosophical than theological; but in discussing the nature of man, he observes, that "he is born mortal, but afterwards becomes immortal; which happens, when any one being purified by the heavenly washing, puts off his infancy with every stain of his preceding life, and by receiving increase of divine strength becomes a full and perfect man."[1] The two states of life, through which every Christian passes, are here distinctly marked—the one into which he is born, polluted, and under sentence of death; the other into which he is born again, by the washing of regeneration, purified and admitted into the hope of immortality.

2. Eusebius, the historian, was bishop of Cæsarea, twelve years afterwards. He, after reciting the

[1] Lactant. Instit. Divin. lib. vii. c. 5.

command to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, adds, "This gracious gift of the knowledge of the Holy Trinity, Jesus alone has granted us by that mystical regeneration."[1] And in another place, he speaks again of the mystical regeneration of saving faith, which takes place in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.[2] The sense, therefore, in which he understood that term, is still the same. And since he maintains that the sins of the earth were washed away by the Deluge[3], it is at least probable, that he also believed it to be a type of Christian baptism.

3. Athanasius, who was elected to fill the see of Alexandria in 326, having introduced the form of baptism in one of his Orations, immediately subjoins, "Thus we, who are one part of the creation, being perfected, are made the children of God[4]:" and in another passage he urges the same thing as an admitted fact, that in baptism we are made complete Christians.[5] Since, therefore, adoption into the family of God implies reconciliation and grace, and we cannot become his children and complete Christians, without being born again of the Spirit, we need look no further for a proof of his concurrence in the opinion here maintained; neither would he have urged the point so confidently in favour of his argument, in a controversy with not very scrupulous opponents, unless he had

[1] Euseb. contra Marcellum, lib. i. c. 1.
[2] Ibid. ad finem.
[3] Opuscula, lib. vii.
[4] Athanas. Orat. contra Arianos, tom. i. p. 341.
[5] Athanas. Dial. i. contra Macedonium, tom. ii. p. 265.

known perfectly well, that it was a doctrine universally received.

4. Before the middle of this century, Cyril exercised the office of a Catechist in the Church of Jerusalem, to the bishopric of which he succeeded in the year 350. He taught that the love of Christ would be lighted up in those who were baptized by the washing of regeneration.[1] But since he was addressing himself to Catechumens of riper years, we must inquire whether he intended to confine his views to them alone; and if we shall find that he explains them in language which will also include infants, that evasion will be fruitless. "Look not to this washing," says he, "as if it consisted of mere water, but look to the spiritual grace, which is given with the water; for as the offerings upon heathen altars, though harmless in themselves, became polluted by the invocation of idols, so, by the invocation of the Trinity, mere water acquires a power of sanctification."[2] In his opinion, therefore, the form of baptism implies a prayer; and to the efficacy of that prayer in conformity with the will of God, the sacramental grace is ascribed: the opinion may be right or wrong; but that he considered himself pronouncing the voice of the Church, in which he officiated, when he annexed a spiritual grace to the act of baptism, is a fact beyond dispute.

Neither can it be objected that his doctrine is contrary to reason and experience, because plenary sanctification does not always, or perhaps,

[1] Cyril. Catech. xviii. 300. [2] Ibid. iii. 40.

usually, manifest itself after baptism; for he only maintains that "those who are baptized receive as much grace as they are capable of receiving."[1] The different modes and degrees in which the effects of grace are shown, where it is not quite forfeited by disobedience, he thus expresses: "Consider how many of you are sitting here now; how many souls we are; in each, the spirit works that which is suitable. See how many Christians there are in this parish; how many in the province of Palestine. Extend your view to the Roman empire, and beyond that to the rest of the world; look at the bishops, the priests, the deacons, the monks, the nuns, the laity, and see that great arbiter and conveyer of graces; how in all the world he gives purity to one, chastity to another, the spirit of almsgiving to another, contempt of riches to another, and how he enlightens those who have eyes; for if any one, not seeing, fails of receiving grace, let him not blame the Spirit, but his own want of faith[2];" — see how catholic are his views, how little he is disposed to straiten the narrow gate; how unhesitatingly he attributes to the Holy Spirit every thing that bears the appearance of good, even though it be but in solitary instances, because they are professed Christians, in whom those graces shine, and how anxious he is that we should not impute the want of them in such persons to any preterition by the Spirit, but only to their own want of faith. Cyril, too, may be added to the number of those who bear witness that the

[1] Catech. xvii. 282. [2] Ibid. Catech xvi. 256.

doctrine of the Deluge was a doctrine of expiation and of a new birth; for he compares salvation by the cross and by baptism to that salvation and beginning of a new life, which came to Noah's family by water and the wood of the Ark; "and as the dove returned to him in the evening with the olive leaf, so the Holy Spirit came upon the true Noah, the author of a second birth, who brought together into one place (the Church) wills of every description, as all sorts of animals were brought together into the Ark."[1]

5. Zeno was Bishop of Verona ten years after Cyril's accession to the see of Jerusalem. He writes thus: "Happy for ever is he who remembers that he was re-born; happier still he who remembers no time before he was re-born; but happiest of all, he who has not in process of time changed that state into which his infancy entered."[2] The nature of that newness of life he also thus describes: "Whereas such is the nature of all other waters, that they receive men into their depths alive, and throw them up again dead, our water (of baptism), on the contrary, receives them dead, and throws them up again alive, made real men instead of animals, and ready to pass from the condition of men to that of angels, if the progress of their age change not their infant state."[3] It is scarcely necessary to remark upon this distinct recognition of baptismal regeneration, that the persons whom

[1] Cyril. Catech. xvii. 269.

[2] Zeno, Sermo iv. ad Neophytos post Baptisma, Bib. Pat. iii. 396.

[3] Ibid. Serm. ii. 395.

he supposes to recollect a period before they were re-born, are the Neophytes who had been converted from paganism to Christianity; or that their new birth does not, in his opinion, imply a necessary perseverance in holiness.

6. Certain dialogues have been ascribed to Cæsarius, the brother of Gregory Nazianzen, which, though his property in them is disputed, certainly belong to his age, and may, therefore, be noticed here. He affirms that "Christ has made us superior to our (spiritual) adversaries, and lords over them by baptism, and by the Holy Spirit given us in baptism, and that they who continue in sin after baptism will be punished with the unbelievers, the gift of the spirit and their baptism, that is, the benefits of their baptism, being taken away from them."[1] No doubt seems to have crossed his mind from any quarter, that it was possible for an infant to be born of water without being born at the same time of the Holy Ghost, although the grace then bestowed might be forfeited by sin, and by no means secured its perseverance in holiness.

7. To the same period Cave refers the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius, who assumed the name of the Areopagite. He defends the practice, which they had received by ancient tradition from their divine teachers, of giving sponsors to infants, who were made partakers of the mysteries of divine regeneration.[2] It seems that baptism and regener-

1 Cæsarius, Dial. iii. Bibl. Patr. v. 786.
2 De Ecclesiast. Hierarch. c. vii. sect. 11.

ation were at that time deemed so nearly equivalent in import, that it was matter of indifference which of the terms was used to express the former.

8. Optatus, the African, was bishop of Mela in Numidia a few years afterwards. He distinctly asserts, that the baptism of Christians in the name of the Trinity confers grace; and he argues against the Donatists, that they are thereby constituted Christians.[1] Consequently, he held that they were born again into a new state of membership with Christ, and that newness of life he recognised in the regeneration of the earth by the Deluge. He contended that those diluvial waters were an image of baptism, because God had determined that the whole earth being polluted should be cleansed, and restored to its former beauty by the intervention of that washing which drowned the sinners.[2]

9. Basil the Great, who succeeded Eusebius in the bishopric of Cæsarea, A. D. 370, seems to have entertained the same ideas upon this subject, though they are not quite so openly expressed. "The Lord," says he, "who dispenses life to us, gave us the covenant of baptism, comprising a type of death and of life, — the water presenting the image of death, and the Spirit affording an earnest of life, and renewing our souls from the death of sin unto their original life." It may be inferred that in writing this the great catastrophe, which by destroying sin gave a new life to the earth, was present to his mind, because in another place, where he

[1] Optatus Afer. De Schism. Donatist. lib. v. Bibl. Pat. iv. 360.
[2] Ibid. lib. iv. p. 359.

comments upon that passage in the twenty-eighth Psalm, which represents God inhabiting the water-flood, he gives this reason for it: "Because by baptism the habitation of the Lord is prepared in the souls of those who are sanctified. He inhabits the soul which is washed from sin: therefore he is said to inhabit the Cataclysm: for that he (the Psalmist) calls the remission of sins by baptism the Flood, we learn from the thirtieth Psalm: 'In the great water flood they shall not come nigh him:' for the sins of sinners in the redemption, which is by baptism, shall not be suffered to come near them.'"[1] He means to say, that as the earth, when it was renewed by the Flood, was prepared again for the habitation of the Lord among his people, so the soul, when it is renewed by baptism, and its sins washed away, is prepared for the residence of the Holy Spirit. But there was another image of baptism suggested by St. Paul, which justified him in considering it a source of life and death. "As the Red Sea, which typified baptism, separated the Israelites from Pharaoh, so baptism separates us from the tyranny of the Devil: there the enemy was slain by the sea; here our enmity towards God dies. The people went up from the sea unhurt, and we go up from the water as those who are alive from the dead, being saved by the grace of Him, who called us."[2] This proves that baptism was believed to be the source of a new life, similar to that which is enjoyed in a resurrection from the grave, and, consequently, might be con-

[1] Basil. Mag. i. 186. [2] Ibid. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xiv. p. 173.

sidered a new birth. But this is more explicitly stated in another passage, where he asks, "How are we saved? Evidently by being regenerated through the grace received in baptism:" and again, in declaring how much we should honour the names of the persons in the Holy Trinity, he argues thus: "If baptism was the beginning of my life, and the first of my days was that day of regeneration, it is plain that the sound ought to be exceedingly honoured by me, which was pronounced in the gracious act of adoption[1]," that is, in the baptismal formula. It is evident, that in this passage Basil stands forward as the representative of the whole Christian world; and the doctrine it conveys was intended to be of commensurate extent. In another place he appears indeed to separate the inward grace from the outward sign; for he contends, that there is a great difference between the grace received from the Spirit, and that baptism which consisted only of water. But why does he hold this language? Not because the lives of many, who have been baptized, are not in conformity to their baptismal engagements, but because John said, "I baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I — he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire[2];" that is, he distinguishes Jewish baptism, or any other baptism, to which no sacramental grace was appended by divine institution, from that which was connected with the gift of the Holy Ghost.[3] Of course he

[1] Basil. Mag. ii. 168. [2] Matt. iii. 11.
[3] Basil. de Spir. Sanct. vol. ii. c. 15. p. 178.

could not be insensible to the fact, which is too notorious, that great numbers exhibit no fruits of the grace which they have received, through their own prevarication of the divine law; but he did not on that account estimate less highly the value of the gift; which he elsewhere expresses with the energy and exultation of a man who dwells upon an acknowledged blessing. "Baptism," says he, "is deliverance to the captives, the remission of debt, the death of (original) sin, the regeneration of the soul, a glorious robe, a seal that cannot be broken, a passport to heaven, an earnest of the kingdom, the grace of adoption."[1]

10. Pacianus was a contemporary of Basil, and Bishop of Barcelona. In commenting upon our Lord's declaration, "Upon this rock will I build my Church[2]," he asks, "Does he call unbaptized nations his church? Can any man not yet regenerated belong to the body of Christ?" where it is obvious, that unbaptized and unregenerate are assumed to be synonymous: moreover, his view of Peter's baptism coincides with that which has been here maintained. In his argument against those who denied that there was room for repentance after baptism, he brings forward the repentance of Peter, who had been baptized by Jesus, when he washed his feet, and said, he that is once washed needeth not to be washed again. So that he was in a state of sanctification before he fell, and before he received from Christ the remedy of repentance.[3]

[1] Basil. Op. i. 481.
[2] Matt. xvi. 18.
[3] Pacian. ad Sympronian. Epist. iii. Bib. Pat. tom. iv. 311.

11. Gregory, who was son to the Bishop of Nazianzum, and himself at one time Bishop of Constantinople, very properly distinguishes and combines the two parts of this sacrament. "Since our nature consists of two parts, the soul and the body, the one visible, the other invisible, so baptism is double; I mean, by water and by the Spirit: the one received visibly and corporeally, the other concurring with it invisibly and incorporeally—the one typical, the other real, and cleansing the inmost recesses; and this coming to the assistance of our first birth makes the new man instead of the old man, and forms us like God, instead of what we are by nature."[1] And therefore he calls one who had been recently baptized, "a newly created soul, which the Spirit had formed again by means of water[2];" and among the titles which he bestows on that ordinance, the laver of regeneration is one[3]: Bishop Taylor cites him as speaking the same language in these terms,—"Our birth by baptism cuts off every unclean appendage of our natural birth, and leads us to a celestial life."[4] But to come nearer to the point most in dispute, let us next see his sentiments expressly upon infant baptism. In one respect his notions on this subject were singular. He recommended that, unless some necessity required it sooner, it should be postponed till the third year, when the infants would be able in some degree to hear and answer; and though they could not understand it, yet in form they would sanctify their

[1] Greg. Nazian. Orat. xl. 641.
[2] Orat. x. 169.
[3] Orat. xl. 638.
[4] Taylor's Works, ii. 278. Orat. xl. 637.

souls and bodies in the great mystery of baptism."[1] Yet at another time he urges very strongly the impropriety of delay. "Hast thou an infant?" he asks. "Let not wickedness gain an opportunity against it? let it be sanctified from a babe; let it be hallowed by the Spirit from its tenderest infancy."[2]

12. The other Gregory, the younger brother of Basil, was at the same time Bishop of Nyssa. He speaks largely of the graces bestowed in baptism without any limitations. For first he congratulates those who were already baptized, because they had been enriched with the great gift of God, and next those who were as yet uninitiated, because "they might enjoy the most glorious prospects, the forgiveness of sins, release from bondage, intimacy with God, liberal freedom, and instead of the abjectness of slaves equality of honour with the angels. For these and similar things the grace of baptism promises and gives to us."[3] And, again, he calls that ordinance "a life-giving power, by which our nature is transformed from a corruptible to an incorruptible existence."[4] Yet it is by no means to be inferred, that he ascribed those effects to any virtue of the material water: on the contrary, he guards against any such error by explaining that "the water does not confer the grace; for that would exalt it above every thing created; but the ordinance of God, and the accession of the Spirit, which comes mysteriously for our freedom. But the water serves to show the cleansing which it

[1] Τελειώσεως. Orat. xl. [2] Orat. xl. 648.
[3] Greg. Nyssen. Orat. in Diem Luminum, tom. iii. p. 367.
[4] Ibid. De S. Trinit. tom. iii. p. 9.

produces."[1] St. Paul argues that, having been baptized into the death of Christ, we are freed from sin; a freedom which Gregory illustrates by the example of the Israelites, who were typically baptized in the Red Sea. As the people passed through, and the king of Egypt with his army was drowned, so now when people pass through the water of regeneration, flying from Egypt, that is, from sin, they are freed and saved; but the Devil and his servants, the evil spirits, are choked with grief, and are overthrown, esteeming the salvation of men their own catastrophe."[2] But he states still more explicitly the important fact, that we are born again in baptism: for he maintains, that it is not only the purification of sins and the remission of offences, but that it is also "the cause, or source, of renovation and regeneration."[3]

13. Macarius, an Egyptian monk, who wrote about the year 373, remarks, that the difference between the baptism of the Jews and the Christians was this: with them it only sanctified the flesh; but with us it is the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire.[4]

14. Ambrose, who was Bishop of Milan, A. D. 374, writes thus: "No one can ascend into the kingdom of heaven except by the sacrament of baptism;" and to show how strictly he interpreted this rule, and how much he was disposed to magnify the grace of that sacrament, it is sufficient to

[1] Greg. Nyssen. De Baptism. Christi, tom. iii. p. 369.
[2] Ibid. tom. iii. p. 375.
[3] Ἀνακαινισμοῦ καὶ ἀναγεννήσεως αἰτία. Ibid. tom. iii. 368.
[4] Macar. Homil. 47. Bibl. Patr. iv. 156.

look at his observation upon an unbaptized infant, "that soul might have been saved, if it had been cleansed by washing."[1]

15. Theophilus was Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 385. He asserts in general terms that, "being baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, we receive eternal life."[2] The expression may be incorrect, but it shows his value of the grace then received.

16. John, who was about the same time Bishop of Jerusalem, says, that Christ baptized those with the Holy Ghost and with fire, on whom the Apostles poured water in calling upon his name.[3]

17. Chrysostom, who is not less celebrated for the fervour of his zeal than for the splendour of his eloquence, and to whom Milner bears testimony, that he loved evangelical truth, filled the see of Constantinople at the close of this century. A very few extracts from his voluminous writings will suffice to show what opinions with regard to baptism were ascribed by him to the Christian Church. 1. Then the relation, which it bears to the Jewish sacrament, is thus described; "as the sign of circumcision separated the Jews from other nations, and showed that they belonged to the family of God, so our circumcision by baptism marks the separation with greater certainty, and distinguishes believers from unbelievers."[4] At that period, therefore, all baptized persons were assumed

[1] Ambros. De Abrah. Pat. lib. ii. c. 10, 11.
[2] Theoph. Epist. Paschal. ii. Ibid. v. 854.
[3] Johann. Hierosol. De Instit. Monach. c. 31. Ibid. 879.
[4] Chrysost. Homil. 39. in Gen.

to be believers and the children of God, and secret apostacy was left to the sentence of the only omniscient judge. And since our circumcision is said to be effected by baptism, the circumcision of the heart can only be intended, which is in exact conformity with the sentiments of the preceding Fathers, who held that in a spiritual sense baptism cuts off the unclean appendages of our natural birth. 2. He mentions a practice of the Marcionites, which, however, in the opinion of other writers was not confined to them, and which, though exceedingly ridiculous in itself, yet proves the high opinion entertained of baptismal privileges. When the rite had been so long postponed, that the sick man died without receiving that sacrament, those, who were interested in his eternal welfare, used to conceal some one under the dead man's bed, who, when the corpse was interrogated whether he wished to be baptized, answered for him, and as his proxy received baptism.[1] To this custom St. Paul is supposed by some to have alluded when he asks, "Why are they then baptized for the dead?" And, doubtless, it would be a good *argumentum ad hominem*, if the persons who doubted the resurrection adopted this practice. For the object of it was to secure the benefits of the Gospel for those who died without receiving the seal of a new life, and were therefore considered to be still in a state of eternal death. 3. It appears that Chrysostom believed baptismal grace to have a prospective as well as a retrospective efficacy.

[1] Chrysost. Homil. 40. in 1 ad Corinth.

For he observes, that it not only obliterates our former offences, but gives us confidence with regard to the future[1]; and in explaining the Baptist's declaration, that our Lord should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, his comment is this,— "He will baptize with water in order that the man may be formed again, and with fire, that he may be strengthened[2]:" where it may be observed, that water-baptism is supposed to be exactly synonymous with the baptism of the Holy Ghost; and the natural consequence is, that regeneration is inferred to be the effect. But he does not leave his opinion on this subject to be merely inferred. Nothing can be more explicit than his declarations: "In our regeneration the words of God known to the faithful and pronounced by the priest mould and regenerate the person baptized."[3] Moreover, he assigns the reason why that term is used, his explanation being drawn from the usual practice in those hot countries, of baptism by immersion. Since baptism is said to be a symbol of death and resurrection, it is therefore also called regeneration; for as he who rises again after death seems to be born again, so he, who is regenerated in baptism, having first died in the water, and then being raised again to life by the power of the Spirit, is said to be born again. His immersion in the water serving instead of burial, and the raising of his head, as each name of the Trinity is pronounced, and then his return from the water, representing

1 Chrysost. Homil. 3. in 1 ad Corinth.
2 Ibid. Homil. 18. tom. v. p. 107.
3 Ibid. in cap. 4. ad Galatas, tom. iii. p. 748.

his resurrection through the Spirit."[1] It is quite unnecessary to add any further citations from this quarter.

18. Chromatius was a contemporary of Chrysostom, and bishop of Aquileia at the end of this century; in high esteem for the piety and holiness of his life. His evidence, therefore, may fairly be admitted here. He remarks upon the history of our Saviour's baptism, that "he received the washing of regeneration in order that we might be born again to a new life; for to the regenerated in baptism the kingdom of heaven is opened, as it was at that time, and that history revealed the order of our salvation, and showed that by the saving power of water-baptism we were to be made the sons of God, and endowed with the gifts of the Holy Ghost."[2]

19. Mark, the hermit, must have lived through the latter half of this century; for the date assigned to him by Sozomene, as an Egyptian monk, is under the emperors Valens and Valentinian, and he lived to be more than a hundred years old. But his principal claim upon our notice arises from this,—that he is said to have learned the whole Bible by heart; so that we cannot but conclude, that he must have been thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Word of God. In his treatise on baptism we find him declaring, that Jerusalem which is above, that is, the Christian Church, is our mother, regenerating us by the washing of regeneration;

[1] Chrysost. Catena in cap. 3. Johan. p. 86.
[2] Chromat. Tractatus in Matt. c. 3. Bibl. Pat. tom. v. 990.

and that the baptism he contemplated was infant baptism, is evident from his reply to the objection, "Why, if original sin is taken away in baptism, does it again exert its power in the heart?" But he notices it only as a possible objection, not as one which had actually been urged. Be this as it may, his answer to it is perfectly consistent with the whole theology of the primitive Church. "It is the issue," he says, "of our own concupiscence: it is not to be imputed to any remains of Adam's sin but to a prevarication of the divine law admitted after baptism. Whoever has received that mysterious grace, and yet does not fulfil the commandments, must not impute it to Adam, but his own negligence; because, having received the power of performing good works, he does not perform them."[1] And again he asks, "who is there so entirely uninitiated in the effects of grace after receiving baptism that he can dare to deny the fact of his receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit from baptism? In baptism we receive that Spirit; we are delivered by the grace of Christ, but yield ourselves up to the servitude of vices; we are beset by sin, because we neglect the commands of him who has purged us from it."[2] Macarius had treated the same subject in the same way before, except that he applied the statement to adults. He held that a man may receive grace without having his heart necessarily purified[3], and that they who have tasted it, and been made partakers of the Holy Spirit,

[1] Marc. Eremit. de Baptismo. Bibl. Pat. tom. v. 1101.
[2] Ibid. [3] Macar. Homil. 26. Bibl. Pat. tom. iv. 139.

may fall away unless they are careful, and become worse than they were when devoted to the world: not that the Holy Spirit is extinguished, but because men will not assent to grace, but turn from it, and fall away into all sorts of vices."[1]

20. Jerome, whose name it is enough to mention, asserts in like manner the conditional nature of the grace of baptism. "Let us not flatter ourselves," says he, "concerning baptism, that as it remits our former sins, so it will keep us from them for the future, *unless* those who are baptized keep their heart with all diligence."[2] The same lesson is inculcated by his exposition of that vision of Ezekiel, which has already more than once engaged our attention — the vision of the waters running out of the temple. Where they were only ankle-deep, the reading of the Septuagint makes the angel bring him through the water of remission; "which we may understand," says Jerome, "of the first sins of men, which are pardoned when we enter the waters of the Lord. These show the salutary grace of baptism, and the commencements of the Christian's progress. But the waters then touch only that part which is nearest to the ground, and most open to the bite of the Serpent. It is not till they become knee-deep in their further progress, that he learns to bend his knees in acknowledgment, that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father: and the greater depths afterwards men-

[1] Macar. Homil. xv. 124. They possess the divine seed invisibly; but on account of the cohabitation of sin hide it, in obscuris et metuendis locis. — *Hom.* xliii. 152.

[2] Hieron. Advers. Jovin. lib. ii. iv. 198.

tioned mark the proficiency of the believer, as he gets more and more above earthly things."[1] Now it matters not whether these things were ever intended by the prophet or not; it matters not how much praise or blame the interpretation may deserve; it is enough that the writer delineates very plainly the opinion of the Church, that baptism conveys the first streams of divine grace to the soul, washing it from its original pollution, and saving it from the first effects of the Devil's malice. But neither does he omit the case of those who neglect to pursue the course of the stream. There are certain miry places in which the waters of baptism stagnate, and which, the prophet declares, shall not be healed, for none can be healed, whom the river of life does not reach. They who stray out of the living stream to breathe an atmosphere loaded with the miasmata of sin, cannot hope to enjoy the fruits of their heavenly washing, unless they return and are converted. But it is remarkable that Jerome seems to have been aware of a covert allusion to the Deluge in this picture, though he does not dwell much upon it. He says the prophet shows that he, who is not in Noah's Ark, must perish in the Flood.[2] But in another place he openly adopts the opinion of those, who considered the Deluge a type of baptism; because, "when all the world sinned, the Flood was introduced, and, together with all the workers of iniquity, all sins were destroyed." To the same effect he bends a passage

[1] Hieron. Comment. in Ezek. c. 47. iii. 1054.

[2] Ibid. p. 1059. In his dialogue with a Luciferian, he draws a long comparison between the Ark and the Church, vol. iv.

of the prophet Nahum, which, however, is somewhat curtailed of its full proportions in his version[1]; "With the overrunning flood he shall make an utter end[2]:" the application is, that baptism, like the Flood, makes an utter end of sin.

There is also a passage of Isaiah in which he detects another prophetical allusion to Christian Baptism; the remnant of Israel, he says, will be saved, "When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof, by the Spirit of judgment and by the Spirit of burning[3]:" which means, when in the baptism of the Saviour their sins are forgiven. By the Spirit of judgment he understands the Holy Ghost, and by the Spirit of burning the fire mentioned by the Baptist; and if these had not been considered essential and inseparable parts of baptism, it would not have been necessary to warn his hearers, that man only contributes the water, but God the Holy Spirit, by which the filth is washed away, and the spots of blood purified.[4] How entirely indeed he was impressed with the idea, that it was an almost universal grace which baptism conveyed, it is easy to judge from some strong expressions that occur. "There is no baptism of the Church without the Holy Ghost[5]:" and, "Mercy discharges all out of prison," that is, releases them

[1] In diluvio itineris consummationem faciet. A literal translation of the Seventy, which differs from the Hebrew. Nah. i. 7.

[2] Comment. in Isai. c. liv. 9. iii. 394.

[3] Isaiah, iv. 4

[4] Hieron. Comment. in Isai. c. v. iii. 45.

[5] Hieron. Advers. Luciferian. iv. 303.

from the wrath of God, "by means of baptism."[1] I do not mean to say, that he is so rash as always to lay down an undistinguishing rule. When it is necessary he marks exceptions; as for instance, when he states that for a spiritual birth, saving baptism is needed, because no one is clean from pollution, no, not if his life be only one day old, and that the second birth undoes the first, he qualifies that general truth: But what are his exceptions? He is far from imagining, that any infants of one day old can be excluded from the covenant of grace in baptism. His only exceptions are heretics, that is, those who denied the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and such men as Simon Magus.[2] It is very clear that, as to the heretics, the exceptions went no further than I have stated; and probably included only the disciples of Paul of Samosata, who were the only heretics excluded from the communion of the church by the council of Nice: for otherwise, he would not have opposed the error of the Luciferians, who contended that all Arians should be rebaptized. Against them he argues, that numerous heresies had infected the Church in the life time of St. John, and many errors in doctrine and practice had crept into the churches of Asia, when the Revelations were written. To one of them want of charity is imputed; idolatry to another; fornication to another: but all these the Lord exhorts to repentance, which he would not do unless he was prepared to pardon them upon repentance.

[1] Hieron. Advers. Jovin. lib. ii. iv. 224.
[2] Comment. in Ezek. c. xvi. lib. iv. iii. 784.

"He did not say, let those be rebaptized, who were baptized in the faith of the Nicolaitans[1];" and with respect to the Arians in particular he observes, that their bishops agreed to an orthodox confession of faith at the council of Rimini; and although there was undoubtedly much dissimulation, yet, even on that account, it was impossible to distinguish who was in a condition to impart the Holy Ghost by baptism, and who was not: the wheat and the tares must grow together till the harvest. The whole of this argument takes it for granted that baptism in the true faith of the Trinity was a regeneration, which entitled the baptized to all the privileges of Christianity. He makes no remark upon the silence of St. John, concerning the necessity of a new birth in the case of the Nicolaitans; though that would seem to be a serious omission, if they had not been regenerated in baptism: but these ideas were so twisted together in his mind, that he would have considered it just as reasonable to separate the substance from its shadow. His opinions, however, on this subject are still more openly proclaimed. "Baptism makes the new man[2]:" the old Adam altogether dies in the laver, and the new man is raised up with Christ in baptism."[3] Upon the invitation in Isaiah to buy wine and milk, he remarks, that the latter signifies the innocence of infants; and therefore it was a custom of the churches in the West to give wine and milk to those

[1] Hieron. Advers. Luciferian. iv. 303.
[2] Ibid. Advers. Jovin. lib. i. iv. 174.
[3] Ibid. Apolog. Advers. Rufin. lib. i. p. 388.

who are regenerated in Christ[1],—that is to say, at their baptism. Lastly, the person, who is represented by St. Paul, thanking God for his deliverance from the body of death, is shown to have obtained that deliverance in baptism. In his unregenerate state he had been carnal, sold under sin, brought into captivity to the law of sin in his members; but he thanks God that, "in baptism he had thrown off his corruption, and assumed the new garment of Christianity; and the old man being dead, had been born again a new man."[2]

21. Augustine, the celebrated bishop of Hippo in Africa, is the last witness whom I propose to call, and his testimony is of no small importance. For it is very remarkable, that he who is the father of modern Calvinism, as Mr. Faber has invincibly demonstrated in his work on the Primitive Doctrine of Election, on this subject speaks precisely the same language, as the uncalvinistic section of our Church. He is a most strenuous assertor of baptismal regeneration, and the doctrine of the Deluge may claim him for its most uncompromising patron. In one place he remarks, that Noah and his family were saved by water and wood, in the same way as the family of Christ are saved by baptism, and the sign of our Lord's passion on the cross[3]; in another place he enlarges thus upon

1 Comment. in Isai. c. 55. iii. 401.

2 Ibid. Quæstiones Algasiæ, iv. 202.

3 August. contra Faustum Manichæum, lib. xii. c. 14. and again, Noah alone of all mankind deserved to be saved from the Deluge with his whole family. So the Church escapes the Deluge on the wood of the cross — ligno portante. — Expositio in Evang. John. Tractat. xi. de cap. 13.

the same topics; "We have plainly seen that the Deluge was designed in mercy: for by it, as by a sort of baptism, the face of the whole world was renewed; so that, having been polluted before by the wickedness of ungodly men, it might now, by the residence on it of the blessed Noah, be in a favourable state for the reception of grace; and that which had been the purgatory of sin, might now be the domicile of holiness. That Deluge, I say, was a similitude of our baptism: for what was then transacted is still going on. The effect then was, that vice was alarmed by the overflowing streams; justice reigned alone; sin was buried in the deep waters; and holiness was carried up almost to heaven. This, as I just said, is still transacted in the Church of Christ: like the Ark of Noah, when the vices of sinners were overwhelmed by the Flood, the Church riding on the waters of Baptism is almost carried up to heaven."[1] Thus it appears that the renovation of the earth, when its pollution was washed away by the waters of the flood, was considered an appropriate emblem of the renovation of the human soul by the water of baptism, and the remission of all antecedent sin. The completeness of the reconciliation thus effected is described in a passage, where he insists, that the pardon of all sins through the whole of life depends upon receiving the benefit of baptism; "which was given to be an antidote against original sin, whereby that which was derived from generation might be removed by regeneration, and which also takes away all actual sin

[1] August. Sermo lxix. De Tempore, tom. x. 161.

whatever, which it finds committed in thought, word, or deed—that great indulgence, I say, from which the renovation of a man begins, in which all guilt, whether inborn or added afterwards, is annihilated."[1] And this doctrine he particularly applies to the case of infants: "Why," he asks, "do mothers run so eagerly with their sick children to the Church? What does baptism wash away? What does that grace discharge? The descent of sin is destroyed"[2]; and, "Infants who are baptized in Christ die to sin; but to what sin do they die in their second birth, except that which they derived from their first?"[3]

The following passage shows in a still stronger light how much more consolation the parents of sick children may derive from Augustine, than from those who make the hope of benefit from baptism to depend, not upon the promise and covenant of God, but upon his secret and unknown decrees. "Be most firmly assured, and have no manner of doubt, that to infants, who cannot believe by their own will, or repent of their original sin, the sacrament of faith, which is holy baptism, suffices for their salvation, as long as they continue of an age incapable of reasoning."[4] Consistently with this view of it he enforces the duty of baptizing them very urgently. "In infants born and not yet baptized we recognise Adam; in infants baptized, and therefore re-born, we recognise Christ. Suffer

1 August. Enchiridion. ad Laurentium, lib. ii. c. 64.
2 Ibid. Enarratio in Psalmum 50. tom. viii. p. 106.
3 Ibid. Enchirid. ad Laurent. lib. i. c. 52. tom. iii. 39.
4 De Fide ad Petrum Diaconum, lib. i. c. 30.

them, I say, to be re-born; suffer them to be re-born."[1] For not having had the advantage of being enlightened by Calvin he concluded from the language of Scripture, and from the consent of the whole Christian Church, that those terms were, in effect, equivalent, when applied to infants; and therefore speaking of one of these he scruples not to affirm,—"You might say that he is re-born; you might say that he is regenerated; or lastly, you might say that he is baptized. For the Latin custom has so borrowed this term from the Greek that it is never understood to mean any thing but the sacrament of regeneration."[2] With respect to those who are grown up, he holds that not only all the guilt of their past offences is forgiven to all who are baptized in Christ, which is done by the Spirit of regeneration, but even their will is healed[3]; and he even goes so far as to say, that the salvation of men is effected in baptism, because all sin, both original and actual, is there pardoned. It is, however, to be observed, that he guards this statement by adding, that the laver does not make us absolutely safe, because we are saved by hope.[4] In other words, salvation must always be an object of hope, because it depends upon our conduct. And therefore he draws a very just distinction between being born again in regeneration, and being born of God by the renewing of the Holy Ghost at a

[1] Sermo viii. de Verbis Apost. 1 Tim. 1. tom. x. 64.
[2] Contra Julianum Pelagianum, lib. vi. c. 4.
[3] Retractationum, lib. i. c. 13. tom. i.
[4] Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum ad Bonifac. lib. iii. c. 3. tom. vii.

subsequent period of life. "He who is baptized has received a great sacrament, divine, holy, and ineffable; consider its nature, how it makes him a new man, and brings him forgiveness of all his sins. But let him attend to his heart, to see that what is done in the body is perfected there. Let him see whether he has charity, and then let him say I am born of God."[4]

It may be late in the life of some men, before they feel experimentally, by consulting their own hearts, that they are actually the children of God: but it follows not on that account, that the first moment of their experiencing that feeling, is also the first moment of their sonship, and of their entrance upon the privileges of adopted children. The wind bloweth where it listeth; but it would be absurd to say, that it began to blow at the moment when we began to feel it; since sleep, or pre-occupation of the mind, or the intervention of a wall, or some other obstacle, may have hindered our perception of its influence, till long after it reached our station; so is every one that is born of the Spirit; and, therefore, though it may seem inconsistent with his other opinions, and unaccountable to those who are only familiar with the systematic theology of the present day, it is nevertheless quite true, that Augustine believed the efficacy of baptismal grace to be in more than one way conditionally suspended, and made contingent upon the course of human action. This principle guided his determination in the case of heretical

[1] Exposit. in Epist. Beat. Johan. Tractatus v.

baptism: it was a perplexing case for one who believed that the truth of God was engaged to bestow grace on all who partook of that ordinance administered in the name of the Trinity, and yet was stedfastly solicitous to uphold the authority of the orthodox Church. The defect of true faith was supposed to separate the grace from the outward sign; but still it was only in a state of suspension; and as soon as the baptized person conformed to the true faith, his baptism was of avail, as the channel through which the Holy Spirit was conveyed to him. In that case, "He receives what he had not before, that is, the Holy Ghost, and begins to have, in a saving way, that which he had before so much the more detrimentally, by how much the more unworthily; for he receives the Church itself, and in it, peace, and charity, and reconciliation through its proper fountain, and the invisible Holy Spirit."[1] So far was he from allowing that heresy absolutely invalidated the sacrament, that he would not admit that conclusion even in the case of flagrant sins: he held, that "Christian baptism, consecrated by the words of the gospel, but administered by adulterous persons to adulterous persons, is still holy, although they are shameless and unclean; because its sanctity cannot be polluted, and the power of divine grace attends upon its own sacrament, either for the benefit of those who use it well, or to the injury of those who use it ill."[2] And it would have much astonished the good Father

[1] Contra Cresconium Grammaticum, lib. ii. c. 15, 16.
[2] De Baptismo, contra Donatistas, lib. iii. c. 10.

to hear any one deny the grace of God to infants, because their subsequent life too often exhibits not the fruits of the Spirit. "The grace of regeneration," he says, "is not lessened even to those who preserve not its gifts, as unclean places defile not the purity of light." And therefore he would address a child beginning to understand the subject thus: "Thou who enjoyest the privilege of baptism, live in the holiness of the new man, and holding faith which worketh by love, have the good which as yet thou hast not, in order that that which thou hast may profit thee." [1] His explanation of that phenomenon which has occasioned so wide a deviation from the faith of the primitive Church — the unworthy lives of many Christians—is perfectly just and satisfactory. In "infants," says he, "by the grace of God, it is the business of the baptism ordained by Him, who came in the likeness of sinful flesh, to abolish the body of sin: but it is abolished, not so that the concupiscence which is sprinkled and inborn should be immediately consumed and cease to exist, but so that what belonged to them at their birth may not injure them at their death. For if they live after baptism, and attain to an age amenable to the commandments, they have within them that with which they may contend, and overcome it by God's assistance, if they have not received his grace in vain, and are unwilling to become reprobates." [2] Now what is this but the very same thing which Pusey has asserted in the Oxford Tracts? "Infant baptism the ancient

[1] Sententiæ Decerptæ, tom. iii. 240.

[2] De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione contra Pelagian. lib. i. c. 38. tom. vii. 148.

Church accounted an efficacious channel of grace to all; only they held that the grace so imparted might be subsequently withdrawn, if the individual permanently resisted its workings; otherwise by virtue of that sacrament, they held that the new nature then implanted would gradually overpower, weaken, and destroy the old man."[1]

The objection to this view of regenerating grace, which is usually grounded upon a misinterpretation of that passage in St. John, "He that is born of God sinneth not," St. Augustine combats by explaining it much in the same way as has been already suggested. "It is not sufficiently considered, that every man becomes a Son of God at the time when he *begins* to be in the newness of the Spirit, and to be renewed in the inner man after the image of him who created him. For not all the old infirmity is taken away after the moment of baptism, but his renovation begins with the remission of all sins; and so far as any one relishes spiritual things, he who now relishes them is so far renewed. But he who is still renewed from day to day, is not yet wholly renewed, and in as much as he is not yet renewed, in so much he is in the old Adam. Hence it comes to pass, that so far as he is still in the old Adam, so far he is still, although baptized, among the children of the world; but so far as he is in newness, that is to say, having full and perfect remission of sins, and whatever may be the amount of his relish for spiritual things, and the corresponding correctness of his life, so far he is

[1] Pusey, on Baptism, p. 116.

one of the sons of God."[1] Every turning of the heart from the world towards God, that is, every advance towards spiritual perfection, might fairly and justly be called conversion; but that term has been usually and conveniently reserved to express those sudden strides which some men make in their Christian course, when they are awakened out of their slumber by some remarkable judgment, or some signal instance of mercy, and starting up, look about them full of amazement and alarm, and betake themselves for refuge to the only quarter from which they can hope for deliverance from their inquietude, and are melted into floods of tenderness by reflecting on a Redeemer's love. But it is a very great mistake to call those conversions the new birth: for Augustine shows, that equally strong contrasts may be discerned by regenerate men on comparing two different periods of their lives, though separated undoubtedly by much longer intervals. "Many," says he, "who make great proficiency after baptism, especially those who have been baptized when they were children, or infants, in proportion as their intellect is cleared and enlightened, while the inner man is renewed from day to day, disdain the opinions which they entertained of God, when they were deluded by their own imaginations, and cast them away with detestation and acknowledgment of their error."[2] A man's habits of life may be new, compared with his former life; his sentiments may be new, com-

[1] De Peccat. Merit. et Remiss., con. Pelagian. lib. ii. c. 7.
[2] De Baptismo, contra Donatistas, lib. iv. c. 15. tom. vii. 91

pared with his former sentiments; his affections may be new, compared with his former affections; for new and old are terms of comparison; but all this does not amount to that change in the actual condition of the whole man, which was always expressed in the primitive Church by the term of baptismal regeneration, and of which our Lord inculcated the necessity, when he said: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

It must be owned, however, that Augustine sacrificed too much to antithesis, when he declared that, by the grace of baptism, we are emptied of all evil, and must afterwards strive by the help of God to be filled with all good.[1] The evil which he here designed is undoubtedly that greatest of evils, alienation from God; but being reconciled by the blood of the cross, and that reconciliation being sealed to us in baptism, we may confidently trust that the grace of God will always prevent and follow us, and make us continually to be given to all good works, unless it be obstructed by our own perverseness, or the iniquity of those to whom the care of our education is consigned. But sometimes the influence of that grace is suspended through varying intervals of time. For in the language of Bishop Taylor, "That which is certain is, that the Spirit is the principle of a new life, or a new birth; that baptism is the laver of this new birth; that it is the seed of God, and may lie long in the furrows before it springs up, and that from

[1] Sermo lxxxiv. de Tempore, tom. x.

the faculty to the act the passage is not always sudden and quick."[1] In these cases it argues want of faith, and a disposition to dispute God's sovereignty in grace, when the disputers of this world, in opposition to the voice of scripture and the consent of all antiquity, will not allow him to bestow it, unless they can see the marks of the cross upon the recipient. What is this, but to make void the whole institution, to degrade it from its dignity, and to rob it of the importance which our Saviour himself assigned to it?

An old predestinarian in our own country, who was consequently a Calvinist on the subject of election, but very much the contrary on the subject of the sacraments, in answer to some Calvinists, who defended themselves from the imputation of disparaging baptism by admitting that it was a seal of after-grace, thus condemns their defence: "This helps not unless they grant, as Calvin freely doth, some principle and seed of grace bestowed ordinarily in baptism; because, in their opinion, it is a seal of something absent, that is to be expected in reversion only. They deny all present exhibition and collation of any grace in the moment of baptism by virtue of Christ's institution; and so they do not make it a sign signifying, but rather prognosticating only some future effect, which is a new kind of divinity, that, so far as I am able to judge, destroys the nature of a sacrament."[2] That it is a new kind of divinity, a kind wholly unknown to the

[1] Taylor's Works, ii. 281.
[2] Burgess, on the Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants, p. 110.

primitive Church and to their own master, St. Augustine in particular, enough has been produced to show. So far, indeed, was he from granting only a prospective virtue to the grace of baptism, that, on the contrary, he deduced every subsequent grace, at least pardoning grace, from a retrospect to that sacrament. In his repentance for temporising in matters of religion, he exclaims, "Was not this sin also remitted to me in the sacred water?" [1] And in another place he lays it down as a general rule, that "Whatever guilt is contracted by the infirmity of human nature after baptism, is pardoned by reason of that washing; for Christ cleanses his church by the washing of water in the word." [2]

It is needless to prosecute this inquiry further; enough has been advanced to prove the consent of the whole primitive Church to the truth of that position, which has been maintained out of Scripture, and shown to be in harmony with God's providential arrangements from the date of the great Deluge; a position which is not denied even by that eminent baptist preacher, Robert Hall; for he admits that, "in ancient times, baptism was universally supposed to be invariably accompanied with a supernatural effect, which totally changed the state and character of the candidate, and constituted him a child of God and an heir of the kingdom of heaven. Hence, it was almost constantly denoted by the terms illumination, regeneration, and others expressive of the

[1] Confessionum lib. ix. c. 2.
[2] De moderate coercendis Hæreticis, tom. ii. p. 46.

highest operations of the spirit."[1] Surely, then, it is not too much to affirm, that the four first centuries of Christianity are better interpreters of the sense in which the Apostles used a controverted term, than Zuinglius and Calvin, who lived more than a thousand years after them. Their testimony is unanimous, and has been traced, from the apostolic age downwards, through all that period in a continuous stream; and Christian philosophy would rather infer that a system must be wrong, which cannot be reconciled with the testimony of the whole primitive Church, than that the immediate successors of the Apostles must have entirely misunderstood their meaning, because the interpretation, in which they all concur, cannot be reconciled with a modern system — a system struck out in the heat of a violent antithesis, in an age when the judgment of many was so far carried away by an unbridled zeal, as to conclude that the further they were from Rome the nearer they must, of necessity, be to truth. The error, however, has obtained its present wide-spread currency, not only on the authority of some great names, but by the unavoidable ambiguity of language, and a want of accurate discrimination. Thus, for instance, when Gibbon states, that the sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain a full and absolute expiation of sin, and the soul was instantly restored to its original purity, and entitled to the promise of eternal salvation[2], he states the truth, but it is a truth liable to misinterpretation.

[1] Hall's Works, ii. 74. [2] Decline and Fall, iii. 273.

The soul is justified, or made pure in the sight of God, when it is freed from condemnation. It does not in itself become actually pure, but its impurity is covered by the intervening righteousness of Christ. The pardon therefore conveyed to it in baptism, restores it in that sense to the purity of man before the fall, the guilt of Adam being wholly remitted, and no other guilt contracted after the similitude of Adam's transgression; for he to whom no sin is imputed stands in the same relation to God as if he had never sinned: and so far the statement is true. But if it were supposed to include the purity of sanctification, it would be altogether false: for the infection of our corrupt nature, inherited from Adam after his fall, cleaveth even to them who are regenerated; and therefore they are still of their own nature inclined to evil, and still it is necessary that the prevention of God's grace should give them a good will and love of holiness; and still it is necessary that the Holy Spirit should work with them, and renew them day by day, and conform them to the image of Christ. But the benefit they derive from baptism is this: they know that they are in covenant with a reconciled God, to whom they have been brought near by the blood of Jesus; rescued from a previous state of perdition, and admitted to a lively hope of everlasting salvation. Matthew Henry's illustration of this subject is excellent as far as it goes, though it falls somewhat short of the mark. He describes baptism to be like putting an infant's name into a beneficial lease; and if, when he comes to years of

discretion, he is willing to perform the conditions of the covenant — well and good: if not, he forfeits his lease; but at all events it was a singular kindness to have had his name inserted. This description, however, is incomplete: for since the union with Christ thereby effected, resembles that which unites the members of the body to the head, and the branch to the vine on which it is grafted, it is impossible that some degree of willingness and strength to perform the conditions should not be derived from Him who is the head of the Church and the root of all spiritual life. The reality of that vital union was fully acknowledged by some of the most distinguished divines of the Reformation in this country. Thus, in the confession of faith of 1560, which is attributed to Knox, he says: "We utterly condemn the vanity of those that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs: no; we assuredly believe that, by baptism, we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his justice (that is, his righteousness), by the which our sins are covered and remitted."[1] Bishop Ridley talks of what a man professes "in his regeneration, when he is received into the holy Catholic Church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body."[2] And again in his letters he speaks of "those heavenly mysteries (the sacraments) whereby Christ hath ingrafted us into his body,

[1] Knox, in Brit. Reform. p. 254.
[2] Lamentation for the Change of Relig. p. 113.

and hath united us one to another; whereby, also, being regenerate and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us." It is to no purpose to multiply authorities of that date to the same effect; for since a low opinion of the value of the sacraments has crept into the Christian world under the sanction of the Swiss Reformers, and all reverence for antiquity being flung aside, infallibility has been claimed for the decisions of that party with as much confidence as if they had shared the illumination of Pentecost, or, at least, as if they had sat in the council of Jerusalem, and knew the mind of the Apostles better than their most intimate associates, it were an endless and unprofitable task to array opinion against opinion, or to appeal to the weight of sober judgment from the speculations of system-mongers and the zeal of partisans. Nevertheless, two eminent writers of our church there are, whose opinions deserve more particular notice; Bishop Reynolds, because his general sentiments were decidedly Calvinistic, and Hooker, because the accuracy of his judgment is acknowledged by all parties.

In his meditations on the holy sacrament, Reynolds speaks thus: "In virtue of that covenant made by God unto the faithful and to their seed, in the first instant of our being, we all do belong unto Christ that bought us: after, in the laver of regeneration, the sacrament of baptism, we are further admitted and united to him. Our right unto Christ before was general, from the benefit of

the common covenant; but in this sacrament of baptism, my right is made personal, and I now lay claim unto Christ, not only in the right of his common promise, but by the efficacy of this particular washing, which sealeth and ratifieth the covenant unto me. Thus is our first union unto Christ wrought by the grace of the covenant effectively, and by the grace of baptism, where it may be had, instrumentally. The one giving us unto Christ, the other obsignating and exhibiting that right, by a further admission of us into his body." [1] He goes on to show, that this union is capable of augmentation, and liable to sundry diminutions, according to the means which we apply to ourselves; that it is daily loosened and slackened by the distempers of sin, and therefore stands in need of continual confirmation and re-establishment, for which purpose the other sacrament is an effectual instrument. If, therefore, the distempers of sin are encouraged and increased by the negligence or viciousness of parents, or nurses, or others who have the care of children, it is plainly very possible, nay, rather it follows of necessity, that a union which is continually loosened will, at last, be totally dissolved; but it would be a most false conclusion to argue that the union never existed, because it has been dissolved, or that the children were not regenerated because they do not show the evidences of their regeneration. Lastly, Hooker says, "Unless, as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause, so water were a

[1] Reynolds' Works, iii. 76.

necessary outward mean to our regeneration, what construction should we give unto those words wherein we are said to be new born, and that even of water? Why are we taught that with water God doth purify and cleanse his church? Wherefore do the Apostles of Christ term baptism a bath of regeneration? What purpose had they in giving men advice to receive outward baptism, and in persuading them, it did avail to the remission of sins?—Baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ; and so, through his most precious merit, obtain as well that saving grace of imputation, which taketh away all former guiltiness, as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost, which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life.[1]" Now the state of a man who has any disposition towards newness of life, infused by the Holy Spirit, even though it be but the first germination of the seed, and weak as infancy itself, is so totally different from his state previous to that infusion, when the corruption of his natural birth clung to him like the grave-clothes round a corpse, that the act by which he is transferred from one to the other might well deserve to be styled regeneration, even if that term had not been distinctly authorised by Scripture, and explained by the testimony of the primitive Church. He is born again of incorrup-

[1] Ecclesiast. Polity, b. v. 276.

tible seed: for he is born of water and of the Spirit, and therefore is a new creature. But they who take upon themselves to confine the grace of God within limits of their own choosing, will not accord that title to any but those who exhibit the newness of their lives by a marked contrast with some former period of their experience. It might abate their confidence in the infallibility of this test, if they would but consider, that equally striking contrasts sometimes spring from very inferior causes; that newness of life is not always a fruit of the Spirit, and a change of habits does not always imply a change of heart.

Gondolphi, conversing with Jowett at Beirout, concerning the Druses of Syria, observed, "You shall see a young man among them, dissolute in the highest degree, given to every vice, and altogether unbridled; yet, on his becoming initiated, in an instant his character is changed into sobriety, and even rigid virtue; instead of drinking wine freely, he drinks water only, his passions are curbed, his vices seem to drop off from him, and he is as strict as before he was licentious."[1] Admitting the fact, says Jowett, yet it may be nothing more than a change from the indulgence of the lusts of the flesh to the more dominant tyranny of the lusts of the spirit; the demon of pride expelling the demon of licentiousness. That this is the true explanation of the phenomenon there can be no manner of doubt; for if it were otherwise, these children of

[1] Chr. Researches in 1823 and 1824, p. 101.

the devil would become the children of God without one single particle of true faith, and without any reference to the law of Christ, or to the merits of his atonement; but it is quite evident that the same causes may sometimes be expected to operate among the professors of Christianity; and an outward decorum, and an appearance of even ascetic morality, and a total renunciation of ordinary pleasures, and a separation from the pursuits of other men, and a complete change of former habits, may not be inconsistent with unsanctified tempers, and spiritual pride, and unchristian hatred of all who differ from us. Such a change may, indeed, in a figurative sense, be called regeneration, because it is a total change of the exterior life; but then, let it be understood to mean no more than that new birth which the Druses underwent, and all who were initiated in the heathen mysteries. Let it not be confounded with that spiritual regeneration of the soul by water and the spirit, which transfers us from a state of wrath into a state of grace, from a subjection to death into a hope of immortality, from the miseries of forfeiture and condemnation into the privileges of the Christian Church. It has been shown that all the notions of regeneration which prevailed more or less in the different nations of the heathen world, were a consequence of that newness of life on the post-diluvian earth, which was to the family of Noah, when they issued from their floating residence on the ocean of destruction, like a resurrection from the darkness, and the

silence of the tomb. It has been shown, that the ark was long venerated by the Noachidæ as the mother, of whom they were born again, when breathing once more the freshness of reviving nature, they seemed to themselves new creatures, treading a new sphere of action, and admitted into a new relation with the God who had so miraculously preserved them by a covenant of grace.

It has been shown that no time could efface the impression of that catastrophe which washed away the moral pollution of the earth, nor quite obliterate an obscure conviction, that water was an agent of the Almighty to cleanse from the guilt of sin. Thus all the kindreds of the earth, but especially the Jews, who enjoyed an authentic record of the fact, and various significant ceremonies stamped with the same allusion, and partly sanctioned by divine authority, were prepared to receive, in Christian baptism, a seal of divine forgiveness, a pledge of restoration to the favour of God, and an assured hope of those sanctifying graces, which the Lord, who bought us with his own blood, is always ready to accord to all who are disposed to receive them through faith. For "He who spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?"[1] The freedom of unmerited grace cannot be more fully exhibited than when it is bestowed on infants, to whom no idea of merit can be attached; and its power is not the less, because multitudes bury

[1] Rom. viii. 32.

their talent of spiritual privileges, and leave them unemployed. The sovereignty of God is not impeached by conceding the largest extension to his mercy; and the all-sufficiency of the Saviour is not assailed by those who, repudiating all idea of meriting salvation, either wholly or in part, hold fast to the exhortation of St. Paul, that we must work out our own salvation with fear and trembling.

THE END.

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